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OVER Photograph by Al Jawad—SIPA Press





FROM THE MANAGING EDITOR

we all know the clichés about journalists, and occasionally we may even perpetuate them in this column. Journalists are tough, always tough. They are unsentimental, cynical, intent on little except getting the next story. They are dedicated to the truth, but perhaps a little short on human qualities.

Last week, as I heard the reports of Terry Anderson's release, I reading that David Alixman, a senior correspondent in David Alixman, a senior correspondent in our Washington bureau, was the founder of the Journalists' Committee to Free Terry Anderson. At a time when there was little reason to hope for Terry's release, David was buy drafting perfettors, meeting with Middle Eastern diplomats and enlisting the support of others in his profession. As time went on, then Thate profession. As time went on, then Thate Polycognipher Dill Folly took on a schedpolycognipher Dill Follycopy of the Polycopy of the New York City, and eventually several other iournalists blended out.

The committee worked with United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, with Anderson's sister Peggy Say and with the State Department and other groups in the U.S. and Britain. It was not always easy to know what was best. "Our dilemma was that if we made a big (uss about Terry, the argument could be

made that it would prolong his ordeal by increasing his value in the eyes of his captors," David recalls. "On the other hand, if we didn't make a fuss, that would contribute to poor morale on the

Senior correspondent David Alkman

"If we didn't make a fuss, that would contribute to poor morale on the part of Terry and the other hostages."

part of Terry and the other hostages. I was surprised initially to learn that David had never met Anderson. What, then, motivated him to become so involved? "I was worried," David says, "that if I ever met Terry when he came back, and he looked me in the eye and said, 'What did you do to secure my freedom?,' I'd be very embarrassed if I had to say, 'Nothing.' Journalists tend to be awkward about participating in causes, probably for good reason, because by and large they try to be professionally detached and they think the objectivity of their reporting would be seriously at risk if they joined any kind of campaign. There have to be exceptions, and this was one of them.

A veteran foreign correspondent who has spent many years in the Middle East, China, Europe and the Soviet Union, there hostages," David has no illusions about the effectiveness of the group's efforts. "I don't rerry's colleagues not be silent about his pileit and the pileit to

the other hostages."

4) miller

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LETTERS

HEALTH-CARE MESS

"As long as we demand Rolls-Royce health care on a Chevy budget, the crisis will continue."

Marvin L. Auerback, M.D. Foster City, Calif.

I am a practicing family physician in central New Hampshire who shares your opinion that our health-care system needs major reform [Narros, Nov. 25]. After nearly five years of active private practice, I am leaving it for economic reasons, I am unable to pay my educational, business and mortigage debta. We workweek averages 70 hours, and even with the steady growth of interest that the leaving what I am trained for (delivering comprehensive family care in a cost-conscious manner) I will probably de-



crease my work hours 40% and increase my paycheck at least that much. Our system has got to change. Scott L. Horton, M.D.

Scott L. Horton, M.D. Meredith, N.H.

"Sickness" care is what you are discussing. Mandatory health care is what we need. The vast majority of major illness in this country is directly related to our sedentary life-style and resulting obesity. Businesses need to emphasize in-house wellness plans, including required exercise programs, and then barter for lower-cost sickness-coverage rates. Look around you—maybe even in the mirror. Americans don't age, they rot!

Candace Mattson Olympia, Wash.

The more successful we are in preventing and curing diseases, the more we need to spend for hospitals, outpatient facilities and nursing homes. Our lives are miraculously extended, and we live decades longer than we did before. Are we the victims of our own success?

Joseph K. Chemplavil, M.D. Hampton, Va.

I head the federal agency that administers the Medicare and Medicaid programs, and was interested to read Tixer's proposal to eliminate Medicaid as one cure for America's health-care ills. That suggestion overlooks many of the program's accomplishments. Medicaid was created to surplishments. Medicaid was created to surplishments. Medicaid care to certain groups of low-income pregnant women, children, cledry and the disabled. It has achieved this goal. Today the program serves: 25 million people and has been a serves; 25 million people and has been a

Stand Up, Stand Out.



LETTERS

leader in cost-control strategies. As we explore the challenges of health reform, we should not dismiss Medicaid out of hand, but learn from it and build on its strengths. Gail R. Wilensky, Administrator

Health Care Financing Administration Department of Health and Human Services Washington

Nearly all the problems you described in America's beliable-are system have arisen as a result of the government's ever expanding role. Vour solutions would enlarge the government's involvement, making the system even more coerieve, statist and impersonal. You should be urging that we deregulate and privatize our system so the cost-benefit analysis of different treatment alternatives can be dewhere it belongs—within the individual physician-patient relationship.

Marvin S. Rosen West Palm Beach, Fla.

My own legislation, the Universal Health Care for All Americans Act, would guarantee affordable, comprehensive health coverage to all. You ignored one of the most pressing concerns of the healthcare debate: access to long-term care. When a catastrophic illness strikes, all Americans are vulnerable, especially senior citizens on fixed incomes. The average

annual cost of staying in a decent nursing home is \$30,000. After only 13 weeks in a nursing home, 7 in 10 elderly people who had been living alone will find their income reduced to the poverty level. Let us be aware that in addition to coverage for acute care, Americans need access to affordable long-term care.

Mary Rose Oakar, U.S. Representative 20th District, Ohio Washington

Duke Goes Down to Defeat

The good news from the runoff election for Governor of Louisians is that of Louis and the Louis and the Klux Klux had pavid Duke, former Nazi and Ku Klux Klux had pavid Duke, so soundly defeated (NATION, Nov. 25). The bad news the 139% of the ballots were cast for a bijot, hatemonger and rabble rouser. This frightening considering that we live in the use years of the millennium, one in which such will has been fought against and paid for with many lives and surfiles.

Hans L. Heimann Cranston, R.I.

The same state that brought you gumbo, Zydeco and Mardi Gras now presents Herr David Duke. Somehow this Hitler clone will manage to leverage his 39% showing in the Louisiana election as an entry to the national political scene. We, the voters of Louisiana, ultimately had to decide between the politics of greed and the politics of hate. We opted for greed (Edand ethnic hartee), Soon veters acrosstion and ethnic hartee, Soon veters acrosstion and thinic hartee, Soon veters acrosstion and the similar decisions. Dude and his imitators will stalk the land, not in sheets or khaki shirts but in suits and ties. Blow-dried and smooth-talking, had yell clank themselves in a warped version of or nativistion.

Jean Lee Shreveport, La.

Louisianians voted for the rapscallion. They decided it was better to choose the Lizard than the Wizard.

Svend Valdemar Raun Miami

If this country based its votes solely on what a candidate says, many people would be chanting "Duke for President!" But because Duke's hate-filled history is not hidden behind his speeches, most can only spit at him. Please don't equate anti-affirmative action with racism; many Americans, black and white, want true equality.

Lisa M. Bailey Boston, Mass.

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MICH

PERFORMS ANDREW LLOYD WEBBER

ON ATLANTIC ... CASSETTES AND COMPACT DISCS.

LETTERS

The contest between Duke and Ed-AIDS as an international health problem wards clearly demonstrates the need for "None of the Above" on all ballots. The sports studs. majority of voters would prefer to have a Linda M. Stecklein new slate of candidates rather than have to

choose between the lesser of two evils William D. DeMayo Corona Del Mar. Calif.

California Paper War

I agree completely with Martha Smilgis' description of the San Francisco Chronicle ("comical") as a "clubhouse newspaper" [Special Issue, Nov. 18], I also agree with her characterization of the San Francisco Examiner as a paper that writes stories about the "scandalous activities of local politicians." What I don't understand is her judgment that this means the Examiner is "hardly better" than the Chronicle. What does she think newspapers are supposed to do if not report on scandalous activities of local politicians? It would be a violation of our public trust if we didn't. Sure, the L.A. Times is a great newspaper. But Los Angeles is not a real city. That's why the Times can afford to tell its readers a lot more about deforestation in Poland than about what's going on in their own mega-metropolis Phil Bronstein, Executive Editor

San Francisco Examiner San Francisco

Smilgis' cheap shot at the San Francisco Chronicle should not go unchallenged. Besides Herb Caen, our staff includes a recent Pulitzer Prize winner and a reporter whose Persian Gulf war reports drew national attention. Our stories are carried on the New York Times news wire and our scoops sometimes make the national papers. Like a good bottle of California wine, the Chronicle is getting better with age Jeff Pelline, Business Writer

San Francisco Chronicle San Francisco

Sports Stars' Wannabes

I cannot believe the archaic and misogynistic attitudes toward females in your story about the groupies who hang around professional athletes [Society, Nov. 25]. My heart goes out to these poor men, always in danger of being used by groupies. These men are adults. They don't sleep with thousands of different women without deciding to do so. This kind of woman blaming is as old as the Greek myths of sirens who lured men to their death.

Rhea Becker Boston, Mass.

It appears that your beloved jocks are as much vermin carriers as your so-called wannabes. The woman who supposedly infected Magic Johnson probably got AIDS from guess who-a male. Let's look at

rather than an occupational hazard for

Potomac, Md.

Promiscuity does not kill. Unsafe sex does. Have unprotected sex once, and you may die. It has nothing to do with moral issues: it is a medical fact

> Mathieu Duplay Paris

Marxism in China

One of the major needs and aims of China [WORLD, Nov. 25] since its opening to the West has been to learn as quickly and as much as possible from the West. Marxism has become the vehicle for this purpose. This was not an accident of history. Today, however, the Chinese adherence to Marxism is more apparent than substantial. Note, for instance, the Chinese response to increased Western pressure: a rise in rhetorical Marxism, while their economy continues to turn capitalistic to a greater extent. Pragmatic by nature, the Chinese use Marxism as an interim language of discourse with the West-until they can find a better language that integrates the positive points from Chinese and Western experiences. I believe George Bush's approach is more effective than the simplistic condemnation of academics and politicians, whose rhetoric can be self-serving and ethnocentric. Suk C. Chang

Waterbury, Conn.

Yugoslavia in Doubt

The situation in Yugoslavia is simple [WORLD, Nov. 25]. Serbia, the largest and most powerful of the six republics there, is the sole remaining communist government in Europe. Serbia has taken complete control of the Yugoslav army, navy and air force in direct violation of the country's constitution. It has been using this unauthorized power to hammer away first at Slovenia and now at Croatia. Why, I ask, do George Bush and this Administration just sit and watch? Where is the commitment to support the principles and practice of democracy? It's not difficult to be cynical about a new world order where oil appears to have a higher value than human life. The suffering men, women and children of Croatia are just as deserving as the people of Kuwait.

Richard H. Greene Encino, Calif.

Imelda Goes Home

I cannot stand the media's obvious partiality to sensationalism in choosing to focus on the theatrics of Imelda Marcos' return to the Philippines [WORLD, Nov. 18]

LETTERS

rather than the tragic typhoon in Ormoc. Levte, that coincided with her return, However, if it is Imelda that people want to read about, then I appeal to the media to depict her as the monster she is, not some glamorous superstar. This woman was instrumental in the downfall and the suffering of an entire nation. The only spectacle that millions of long-suffering Filipinos should want to see is the face of this criminal as she is put in jail

Grace Tolentino Cruz Manila

The Philippines is some nation. Imelda Marcos fled as a traitor and corrupt woman and comes back a heroine welcomed cordially by many people, including none other than Vice President Salvador Laurel of the present, legal government. What ignominious irony! Congratulations to the Philippines, a paradise for thugs!

Dudih A. Zuhud Bandung, Indonesia

Going by the Rules

Some of the recent language in the magazine brought a few readers to a halt. We said of Virginia Governor Doug Wilder, "Life experience tells him everything is possible for he who gambles" [NATION, Nov. 11]. Several people pointed out that the preposition for requires the object him. The second usage that drew criticism was a reference to the Superbug whitefly that is

munching California's crops; we said of the insect's eating habits that "one of the only vegetables it doesn't seem to like is asparagus" [ENVIRONMENT, Nov. 25]. Mr. and Mrs. Donald Lewine of Sudbury, Mass., set us straight on that: "Only means one. The correct phrase is 'one of the few.' "But in a third case, we were unfairly reproved for our spelling of the document Magna Charta (LIVING, Nov. 11). Although many publications use the more familiar Magna Carta, most dictionaries prefer the word we used, charta, from the Latin word for paper.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to

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CRITICS' VOICES

BY TIME'S REVIEWERS/Compiled by Daniel S. Levy



HERE'S LOVE. Can a streetcorner Santa be the real thing in disguise? This musical adaptation of Miracle on 34th Street, at last getting the revival it deserves at the Goodspeed Opera House in East Haddam, Conn., answers that question in the happy affirmative.

THE CHRISTMAS REVELS.

This wonderful mix of classical and traditional music, medieval theater and whatnot else is now staged in seven cities-Cambridge, Mass.; Hanover, N.H.; New York City; Oakland; Philadelphia; Washington; and Houston. This is not a tour: these are separate productions, each under local control, each a little different. Performance dates differ but range from Dec. 5 to 29.



FROM PHIL SPECTOR (ABKCO Records), A cardcarrying classic; not only the definitive Christmas house

A CHRISTMAS CAROL

You might think that movie versions, from the Alastair Sim classic to the George C. Scott made-for-TV stunner, would be enough to satisfy Americans' seasonal appetite for Dickens tale of remorse and redemption. But just as The Nuterucker has become a box-office bonanza for countless ballet companies Ebenezer Scrooge's journey from crotchets to Cratchits is now a yearly mainstay for about 40 of the nation's regional theaters and a few commercial venues. The shortest is probably the eight-minute skit, complete with onstage flying ghosts and horse-drawn carriage, presented each year as part of the Radio City Music Hall holiday revue in New York City. The most minimalist may be the solo version to be performed on Broadway by Patrick Stewart, Dec. 17-29. And surely the most provocative is Seattle Repertory Theater's Inspecting Carol, a satire about would-be censors of the arts, which depicts a troupe staging the Dickens story, yet also recalls Gogol's mordant The Government Inspector.

shaker but also a paradigm of Wagnerian rock at its most ingenuous. From the Ronettes melting the heart of Frosty the Snowman to Darlene Love's soul-scorehing Christmas (Baby Please Come Home), this is Phil Spector's grandest production.

NAT KING COLE: COLE. **CHRISTMAS & KIDS**

(Capitol). Most of us have heard the great man cook up his "chestnuts roasting on an open fire," but this collection pulls together a graceful, occasionally goofy group of 13 Cole Yuletide greetings. He wrings some swing out of All I Want for Christmas, goes mitten-to-mitten with a chorus of brats on Frosty the Snowman and does a silken Brahms' Lullahy. And, yes, The Christmas Song is here tootalk about pulling chestnuts out of the fire

MARCUS ROBERTS: PRAYER FOR PEACE (RCA/Novus).

This terrific young jazz pianist doesn't do things the easy way. He performs 14 seasonal songs, ranging from the shimmering Silver Bells to a Tatum-tinged Auld Lang Syne, with due reverence for both tradition and experimentation. Music appropriate for either a Christmas Eve service or a secular late-night eggnog.

HELEN MERRILL: CHRISTMAS | the sentiment, but the SONG BOOK (JVC). The vocal event of the season and just possibly the best new jazz vocal album of the year. Merrill, a singer in the great tradition of June Christy and Chris Connor, comes to the Christmas party using the eloquent arrange ments of Torrie Zito to bring some fresh feeling to standards (such as White Christmas) and offers up a few surprises (tunes by Claude Thornhill and Thad

Jones).

MESSIAH, 3 Vols. (harmonia mundi). Handel's Messiahs-that's right, Handel composed more than one version of his beloved oratoriohave become a holiday ritual since the premiere 250 years ago. A pragmatist as well as a great composer, Handel penned several alternative sections to accommodate the strengths and limitations of different musical ensembles. This recording assembles, as addenda, all the alternative arias, recitatives and choruses (hence the three volumes). Nicholas McGegan, a major authentic-period-instrument and practiced Handel conductor, leads marvelous singers and players in a splendid performance. Hallelujah!

author's relentless cheer and



What do the networks want for Christmas? A new TV movie that will become an instant holiday classic. Among this year's crop of It's a Wonderful Life wannabes are CHRIST-MAS ON DIVISION STREET (CBS, Dec. 15), starring Fred Savage as a teenager and Hume Cronyn as the homeless man he befriends, and IN THE NICK OF TIME (NBC. Dec. 16), in which Santa Claus (Lloyd Bridges) must scramble to find his replacement by Christmas Eve. Several new animated specials, meanwhile, are joining the seasonal evergreens. WINNIE THE POOH AND CHRISTMAS TOO (ABC. Dec. 14) features the familiar A.A. Milne characters and A WISH FOR WINGS THAT WORK (CBS. Dec. 18) marks the TV debut of Opus and Bill from Berke Breathed's Bloom County comic strip. Most unusual holiday offering: LA PAS-TORELA (PBS. Dec. 23), a musical retelling of the shepherds' trip to Bethlehem, written and directed by Luis Valdez (La Bamba) and starring Linda Ronstadt, Paul Rodriguez and Cheech Marin. Most predict-



THE FRUGAL GOURMET

CELEBRATES CHRISTMAS by Jeff Smith (Morrow; \$25). "I love theology more than food," writes the renowned cookbook author and TV host, and this handsome, unconventional volume proves his point. There are plenty of recipes here. to be sure, many of them imaginatively linked to the traditional figures assembled in Nativity scenes: a flower salad for the Virgin Mary (don't include poinsettias, whose leaves are poisonous), unleavened brown bread for Joseph, milk and honey for the baby Jesus. But most of the nourishment is intended for the spirit, for those who remember Christmas as the most magical time of their childhoods, Even Dickens might wince at some of



able: the headline guest on

special (NBC, Dec. 18) is

Macaulay Culkin.

Bob Hope's annual Christmas

VIENNA CHOIR BOYS. This indefatigable troupe, now nearly 500 years old, is again touring the U.S. with a holiday program. As always, the range is wide-from Adeste, Fideles to a little-known one-act Mozart operetta-and the musicianship remains high over the decades and generations. In Baltimore: Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Allentown, Pa.; and New York City, all before Dec. 25.

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ENVIRONMENTAL

ACTION



NATIVE AMERICANS PROTECT WILD RICE

On Minnesota's White Earth Reservation, Native American Chippewa are preserving the tradition of hand-harvesting wild rice — employing a method that protects the water, preserves surrounding plant life and uses no pesticides or chemical fertilizers.

The Chippewa people navigate the rice beds in canoes, using 28-inch-long ricing sticks to tap the ripened stalks. Some rice falls into the boat while other grains tumble into the lake to reseed next year's crop.

"Wild rice is indigenous to North America and we want to protect it," says Winona LaDuke, who founded the Ikwe Wild Rice Program with another Chippewa woman. Margaret Smith.

"I have harvested rice for 35 years, and it's hard work," says Smith. Now she works hard to bring lkwe rice to the marketplace.

Since 1985, Ikwe has sold wild rice nationwide. "The response is terrific," says program coordinator Dennis Harper. "People say this natural rice is what they're looking for."

The Organic Growers and Buyers Association of Minnesota regularly tests White Earth waters for purity. They approve the wild rice through every phase of processing before it goes to market.

For the Ikwe Wild Rice Program, the future is truly rooted in the past. "Instead of trying to tame the wild, we're showing people how to respect it," says LaDuke. "This helps both the Chippewa and the environment."

All Environmental Activists featured in this series are recognized with a \$2,500 donation to their cause.

FIND THE ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVIST

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GRAPEVINE

By JANICE CASTRO/Reported by Sidney Urquhart

HERE COMES OPERATION DESERT STORK

Talk about faith in the future. Remember the baby boom? That started when America's fighting men returned from World War I. Now, eight
months after the first soldiers, sailors and airmen returned victorious from Operation Desert Storm, military bases from San Diego to North Carolina are
bracing for their own baby boomlet. Since the troops got home, positive pregnancy tests have tripled at Fort Hood. Tesus, and Fort Bragg. North Carolina. The
expectant mothers include Desert Storm vets—five of the six women in
one unit. In San Diego 318 Marine wives have been sent to community hospitals for prenatal care because the does at Camp Pendleton are swamped. Doetors at Fort Stewart, Georgia, expect to deliver 40 babies on Christmas—three
timess the busiest day in memory. No more silent nights for those folks.



Fort Bragg last March: happy to be hom-

A NETWORK THAT GUARANTEES SCOOPS

What's the value of secrets if nobody asks you for them? Fresh, reliable information is the measure of an intelligence ear. But new ext. dictor robester Asts has noted that whenever something big happens, everybody from the President on down turns to exist or up-to-the-minute reports. Gates is considering going csix one better by creating his own private news program. Available on an encrypted comparer system, the central intelligence network would distribute instant analysis and scoops to about 200 top Administration officials. Fill mat 11.

EASTERN EUROPE'S NEW BAD GUYS

Just about every kind of entrepreneur has talked up the emerging opportunities in the new Eastern Europe, but now Colombia's powerful CauD PRUC AMTEL is exploring the possibilities. In October, Czechoslowak authorities seized 100 kg of coaine hidden in a trueklou of Colombia neoffee. After the coffee was traced to a Polish ship that had stopped in Colombia, Polish police uncovered another 100 kg in the rest of the shipment, which was sitting in a Warsus warehouse. U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration officials speculate that the cartel hopes to take advantage of the legal classo in the region to tranship narcoites to West European customers. Last week First director William Sessions visited Warsaw to offer Polish officials help in modernizing their prolect system.

THEY'RE NOT GOING TO TAKE IT, PROBABLY

Argentines are hopping mad. Turns out their government has been negotiating the use of the Patagonian desert in southerastern Argentina as a dumping ground for the world's human and industrial wastes. First France signed up; then came news that a New Jersey company, ironically named the Environmental Development Corp., was hoping to send 200,000 tons of treated sewage a year. Argentines figure they have enough of their orange.

VOX POP

How will 1992's economic conditions compare with those in 1991?

Worse 50% Better 14%



A TA



A gaucho, home on the range in Patagonia

FORWARD SPIN

DIAMOND RINGER The Mets had \$29 million; the Pirates didn't. So Bobby Bonilla will play for the Mets at \$37,275 a hit, more than most of the fans make in a year. Watch for higher popcorn prices at Shea.

PERFORMANCE ART For the late-night show Studs, the women data the men, then appear on the air to critique their amorous talents. Contestants on Night Games demonstrate their seduction techniques live. Next, for the fitness crowd: Bedroom Gladiators.

IT'S DEJA VU ALL OVER AGAIN Neil Young, the reigning king of feedback, is recording an acoustic album. So many rockers are forsaking electric guitars that MTV features their videos on a show called Unplugged. Expect a boom in kazons.

MAVE SOME CAKE To help a New York City charity collecting secondhand coats for the poor, Mayor David Dinkins donated an elegant cashmere number (estimated replacement value: \$1,400). Maybe Dan Quayle could give his golf clubs to the homeless. David Duke could throw in some white satin sheets.

SUDS Common sense and calorie consciousness have put a dent in beer sales. Millor Time gave way to near beer, litte beer, then dry beer. Next: tap water with a side order of organically grown hops.

WORD WATCH "Apropos of nothing"—why does everyone keep starting sentences this way? People use this slapdash transition to jump from one thought to the next, their conversation tracking like a string of commercials. Warning; non sequitures ahead.



Delivered From Evil

By NANCY GIBBS

t was a cold day in hell when Terry Anderson won his freedom at last. The snow led Hard in Mount Lebanon as he spent the last 24 hours pacing in his cell, playing solitaire by candlelight and listening to the snow Thousacts stories of his progress on the road to Damascus. Those last hours passed with infernal skowness, his captors continued to argue over whether to let him go at all. But when at last the path to freedom eleared, he appeared to a world captured in a cameral tens, and all was finally well.

What is the best unit of measure for courage? Is it registered, the payers asked, the letters sent, the rumors of death, the prayers asked, the letters sent, the rumors of death, the hopes dashed and then raised again? Where did he find the generosity of spirit to smile when he walked out of captivity into a roomful of colleagues and told them. You can't imagine how glad I and

see you. Eve thought about this moment for a long time, and now it's here, and I'm seared to death. I don't know what to say."

In a way, what was most impressive was what he didn't say. Here was a man who had been varaped like a corpos from head to foot in adhesive tape and moved from one hiding place to another in a coffin. With the others, he endured beatings and bindfolds and boredom, months spent chained to furniture, months without bathing, without real food or his professional staple, news-of the world outside his grave. And yet there was no harted, title bitterness, only that great wide smile and a promise of forgoness that prompted the millions who watched to wonder. How would I have fared? Would I have heat that strength?

The prayers, he said, made all the difference during the dark times. Yet he and his fellow prisoners had no way of knowing the place they held in America's heart. They did not hear the anchors keeping count of the days on the evening news, the countless ap-



peals and press conferences in which the hostage families and dear friends pounded on the nation's attention to force Americans to keep them in mind when many would have just as soon forgotten. The captives did not know that people they had never net wore a tiny yellow ribbon on their lapel every day for seven years, with the words FRRE THE INSTACES.

Anderson credited his friends and his subbornness and his faith, as practiced in their private sanctuary, the Church of the Locked Door. Thomas Sutherland taught him French, the taught the others the sign alphable for the deaf so they could communicate when they were not allowed to speak. It was Anderson who made the tinfolf chess pieces, the Serabble games, the Monopoly set. In a sense, as the longest held and best known, Anderson had become a symbol for all the expires, for the 17 Americans who were taken—the three who died, the 18 others who have retrieved their freedom one by one, including. Joseph Cicippio and Mann Steen, who finally saw davlight last week. As the last Americans came out, they were freed from their symbolism—no longer did they stand for national helplessness and taled presidencies, for ill-fated schemes and a foreign policy with its principles held hostage, Instead they were real, grarfeld, living people with daughters they had never seen, scars that will never heal, long nights full of lessons the swill never forger.

If, as the schulars other red has tweek, the "Ms was the decade of terrorism and the '88t the decade of busingses, there is sure to be a new nightmare waiting. This chapter, now nearly closed, is not the end in a part of the world where all two ordered and harteed due bard, people are paws, and lives are meant for searching. Box Germans remain imprisence, and all accounts remain unsetted to the state of the search of t

THE ORDEAL

Lives in Limbo

With the last of the American hostages now home, Anderson and other former captives share memories of physical pain, mental anguish and extraordinary human endurance

By JILL SMOLOWE

erry Anderson may have lost 2,455 days of his file, days of his file, but he has lost none of his journalistic instincts. "The worst day? he said in response to a question from the reporters gathered in Weisbaden. "The worst day! had was Christmas of 1986." A veteran stoyteller. Anderson lirts set the seene. He was in solitary, Similarly confined but within eyeshot were fellow hostages Fom Sutherland. John McCarthy and Brian Keenan. We had nothing."

Anderson unfolded the tale, offering his colleagues a bit of a scoop. "One thing we could do-and my captors may be surprised to learn this-was talk to each other." Anderson explained that he had learned sign language in high school, a one-handed alphabet that he taught the other captives, improvising new signs for those he had forgotten. On this bleak day, Anderson was relaying silent messages to Sutherland, who would pass them on to Keenan, and so forth. Then calamity struck. "I took off my glasses and dropped them and broke them," he said. "My eyes are very bad. Couldn't see." End of silent, cell-to-cell dialogue. End of story, "That was a bad day," he concluded, the sorrow returning for a moment with the memory.

With Anderson free, the harrowing tales that were once too risky to tell for fear of bringing harm to the remaining Western hostages may now be told. True, the final installments must still await the freeing of two German captives. But Anderson's release last week seemed to unburden other American ex-hostages of their "survivor's guilt" and uncork fresh memories of physical pain and mental anguish. If a single thread ran through the recollections, it was the abject despair each man experienced when confined in solitary, and the mutual appreciation, gratitude and respect each felt for his fellow hostages when they were penned together. As for their own fortitude, they left the marveling to others. "You just do what you have to do. You wake up every day, and you summon up the energy from somewhere," Anderson said, without dramatic effect. "And you do it day after day."

Of the three men freed last week, only Anderson, 44, appeared to emerge whole, albeit somewhat thinner, somewhat balder and with a hint of a limp. Journalism professor Alann Steen, 52, who suffered permanent neurological damage when he was kicked by his captors for unwittingly prolonging an exercise period, will remain on medication for the rest of his life to control seizures and blackouts. University administrator Joseph Cicippio, 61, whose skull is still dented from the clubbing he received at the time of his capture five years ago, will live out his life with a burning sensation in his fingers and toes, the result of the frostbite he suffered during a winter spent chained on a partly exposed balcony

It was hard to imagine surviving even a single day, as the details of the hostages' living conditions piled up; airless, windowless cells barely larger than a grave, in which the men could not stand upright. Extreme temperatures, both hot and cold. Constant battles with mosquitoes. The same clothes year after year, sometimes only underwear and socks. Filthy blindfolds that infected their eyes, but could not be removed when a guard was in the room. Steel chains that were never unlocked, save for the 10-minute daily visit to the "toilet, a fetid hole in the ground. Months without baths. Then bathing privileges that forced filthy men to share not only the same water but the same towel, sometimes unlaundered for months at a time. Meals that never varied; bread, cheese and tea for breakfast and dinner; boiled rice and vegetablesomething-or-other for lunch. All this savored without benefit of a light bulb. Sometimes without benefit of even a candle Often slone

To this nightmare were added mo-

441 always knew that my big sister was . someone I could rely on.77 -Terry Anderson on Peggy Say's efforts to secure his release

ments of indignity that scorched the soul. Father Lawrence Jence's first glimpse of Anderson back in 1985 was through a crack in a partition. There was Anderson, Bilindfolded and chained to a bed, surrounded to the control of sprayed with decodorant to study bits snoring. More than two years after his release, the Roman Catholic priest can still visudly remember the cruef games this captures would then laughing when, dizzy and disciprinted.



What Description of the Philips and Page 1 of the Philips and Phil



Two weeks after his release, Sutherland returns to Fort Collins, Colo.

he would bump into things. One of the most searing moments came when a man in copper-tipped cowboy boots stood on Jenco's head. "I am not an insect!" Jenco cried out. "I am a person of worth!"

But to their captors the hostages were often pawns in mind games of stunning cruelty. Several of the hostages, Anderson among them, were led on ocasion to believe that they would be released imministry—only to have their hopes callously dashed. "One night they said I was going home, and dressed me in nice clothes." Jeneo recalls of his 564-day captivity. "When I dressed they said, Vask idding, and baughed, I started to cry." There were also divide-and-conquer plays: at one

point, Anderson and Sutherland were given crates of books and a radio, while two other captives were given nothing.

For different reasons and ad different itmes, some of the hostages surrendered to despair. Anderson's former cell mates re-call how in December 1987, when the journalist was forbidden to send a Christmas message to his family, he slammed his head against a wall until the blood streamed down. "There were times when I was near despair," he said last week, "I don't think I ever quite gave up." Sutherland, who shared a cell with Anderson through most fibs 2.535-4 up captivity until his release list month, revealed that he had attempted suicede three times. "I fried to pull a plastic

bag over my head and suffocate myself," he said on ABC's Nightline. "But I found out on each try that it got very painful."

What pulled the men through such moments of hopelessness? For Sutherland it was thoughts of his wife, three daughters. and a granddaughter he had never seen. For Anderson it was a Bible and a photograph of his daughter Sulome, now six, whom he met for the first time last week. Men with strong religious affiliations relied heavily on their spiritual muscles, Three bare wires hanging from the ceiling evoked for the Rev. Benjamin Weir the fingers of the painting on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. "That became to me a representation of the sustaining, purposeful hand of God," he recalls. Others discovered a faith they never knew they had. "Before, I didn't believe in God, and now I do," Frenchman Roger Augue told the British press after his 319 days in captivity.

The daily trauma of imprisonment pre-

sented psychological challenges that tested both endurance and creativity. Most days-days that ran together, month after month, year after year-were marked only by boredom. So the men privately explored the mental paths that would lead them from their cells, backward or forward, to happier times. Anderson said he fantasized a working farm and a newspaper operation, "working out economies and staff-At one point he befriended a mouse, which he fed bread crumbs and which perched on his shoulder. He also wrote poems, 32 of which he carried to freedom. Math and computer-science professor Jesse Turner, released in October, worked out elaborate equations in his head. Hospital director David Jacobsen, released in 1986. mentally drove the entire freeway system of Southern California, Several kept journals, which were confiscated by the guards.

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2/4 U.S. wins America's Cup	Mike Tyson wins heavy- weight title 3/19 Jim Bakker resigns in sex scandal	Gary Hart/ Donna Rice affair 5/17 USS Stark hit by Iraqi missile; 37 killed	7/7-9 Oliver North testifies before Congress	Stock- market crash 10/23 Judge Bork rejected	Soviets say wins	Emperor nine Oscars Book reveals White House consulted astrologers	commercial	oics









Weir recalls. "I'd take us around Lebanon or Turkey. Tom Sutherland was very good at teaching us something about animal husbandry."

Humar kavened more than a few low moments. Jeach night when the guards would ask if they needed anything before gamg to sleep. Sutherland would suggest a fighter-bomber. Jencow would ask for a taxa, and some was egy would investably pipe up with an order for a glass of wine. A big, heavyset grand who fringed he feet was leady to the state of the state of the state of the exact properties of the state of the state of the ready of the state of the state of the state of the call in their games of Heatts. "Feetry time he left the room." Jenco laughs, "we'd get together and made sure he never won."

Sometimes the ribbing and competition carried a barsh undercurrent, which may have been the safest way of venting the anger that the hostages could not afford to direct toward their captors. In one instance, a group of hostages coaxed their guards into getting a birthday refreshment for Sutherland. When the guards returned with cupcakes, Sutherland protested, "How come Father Jeneo got a big cake, and I only get cupcakes?" Jeneo insists Sutherland's distress was real. On rare occasions, tensions erupted in hostility, such as the well-known episode in September 1985, when captors invited a group of hostages to select among themselves who should go free. Anderson and Jacobsen nearly came to blows over the sweepstakes, which Weir won by the captors' choice.

Inevitably, rivalries and antipathies developed during the hard, long months of confinement. Sutherland's recollections of British church envoy Terry Waite, for instance, are particularly sharp. Calling Waite the "bane of our existence." Sutherland told Time that when the large Waite moved, "it was like a goddam herd of elephants. When Waite joined Sutherland, Anderson and others after enduring tour years of solitary, he understandably hungered for companionship-but he had a hard time adapting to the courtesies of a shared cell. "Other hostages had a sense of when people needed privacy and didn't want to talk." Sutherland said. "Waite wanted to talk constantly, ask stupid questions."

Waite's asthma also posed problems.
With everyone sleeping so close together,
his chronic wheezing kept the others



Steen is buoyant despite head injuries sustained during captivity

works. So every night Anderson would card Waite. Keeping up a hyponici patter of "like it easy, breathe easy, echale." un til Waite fell sakep, Anderson was also more forgoing of Waite's mistable appearance by a waite. Anderson would tap out dispatches on world cerns by fand culted from radio reports by using use tap for a choice for the report of the control of t

The greatest open rivalry was between the politically liberal Anderson and the conservative Jacobsen. Anderson, along

with Jeneo, tweaked Jacobsen, an Episcopalian, about controversial passages in the Bible, particularly scriptures dealing with homosexuality. Jenco recalls that Jacobsen, in turn, often sabotaged Anderson's attempts to elicit new information from their guards. Jacobsen apparently remains conflicted in his feelings about Anderson. On one occasion he told the British press, "I didn't like him," while on another he told Time, "I love Terry Anderson," Last week he allowed only that his career as a medical administrator was built around guarding people's privacy, while journalist Anderson wanted to know everything. Anderson says of Jacobsen that he "gave something to me, helped me.

1989 1/4 U.S. shoots down two Libyan jets	3/24 Exxon Valdez spilis 240,000 bbl. oil	6/3 Khomeini dies 6/3-4 Tiananmen Square massacro	baseball	earthquai Hurricane Hugo rips Caribbean	12/20 U.S. ke invades Panama 11/9 Bertin Wall comes down	2/11 Mandela released 2/13 Drexel file bankrupte		6/11 Noian Ryan pitches a no-hitter 6/17 The Simpsons becomes a top- rated show	8/2 Saddam invades Kuwait U.S. troop buildup starts	10/3 Germany unites 11/22 Thatcher resigns
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43rd birthday



Back home in Norristown, Pa., Cicippio waves to well-wishers

Relations with their captors were far rockier. Nine men died in captivity, Last week Anderson disclosed that he believes CIA station chief William Buckley perished right in the cell with him in June 1985. Though the blindfolded Anderson could not see him, he must have heard him, since the pneumonia-ridden Buckley died choking on his own fluids. And almost all the exhostages have at least one tale of a savage beating to tell. Of the survivors, educator Frank Reed, released last year, received the harshest treatment, and still endures head, foot and rib problems. Jenco suffers a 20% hearing loss, the result of a beating he received for not returning his spoon af ter a meal Both Sutherland and Anderson said

last week that they had suffered some "physical abuse" early in their captivity. but that such treatment subsided quickly. In a television interview, Sutherland said the guards left Anderson alone because they were "in awe of the fact" that Terry had served in Vietnam as a Marine staff sergeant. Steen was beaten more than once, but to hear fellow captive Robert Polhill tell it, at least one of those beatings was worth it. Shortly after Steen attempted an escape in 1987, a Lebanese guard who knew karate tried to kick him. Steen side-

stepped the blows, then decked the guard with a left cross and a right book, "They got even later," Polhill says, "but it took a Kalashnikov and a length of chain to do it.

Most of the time the guards and their captives had a mutual understanding. "We had to do anything they said," says Sutherland. "If they said stand up, we had to stand up. If they said sit down, we had to sit down. They wouldn't tolerate any disobedience." If hostages obeyed the rules-no peeking out of blindfolds, no talking-they were left alone. Although conditions were unhygienic, the captors could be roused to action when real illness threatened. Polhill received regular insulin injections for his diabetes. Cicippio was hospitalized for two months for a stomach ailment. Waite was given both an air-conditioner and medicine for his asthma. After Buckley died of pneumonia, the captors even "borrowed" a Lebanese Jewish doctor-also a hostage-from another group of kidnappers to care for a dying French hostage. The doctor was later murdered.

There were a few flashes of human compassion. Jenco was taken to a roof one night. Thinking that he was about to be shot. Jenco says he was astounded to discover that "the guard merely wanted me to see the moon." In 1985 at Christmas-

again and again cited as the most dismal day of the year-some hostages were presented with a cake while two guards sang in broken English, "Happy birthday, Jesus. It is a testimony to their strength of

character, forged in the greatest adversity, that many of the ex-hostages speak of the need to forgive their former captors. "I'm a Christian and a Catholic," Anderson said last week. "It's required of me that I forgive, no matter how hard it may be." Father Jeneo, by contrast, argues, "Anger is a very good emotion. Even Jesus got angry. While there is little evidence of the Stockholm syndrome, wherein captives begin to identify with their tormentors, several of the former detainees seem to have some empathy for the plight of the underpaid men who held them. Weir recalls that one of his guards lamented that he was as much a prisoner as Weir. "We've got to spend our time here looking after you, and we're not free," he told Weir

Similarly, many of the ex-hostages harbor no bitterness toward the Bush Administration for its failure to secure their release sooner. "I think the United States took the right policy in not negotiating with my captors," Anderson said. But he admitted with a laugh that there were times when he "wouldn't have cared if they used an H-bomb to get me out of there. Sutherland also applauded the U.S. policy, stating, "I didn't want those guys to get a nickel for me

Now the newly released hostages must turn their attention to the rest of their lives. After so many years in captivity, the smallest tasks excite and bewilder. Sutherland says he washes his hands a hundred times a day. Turner says the hardest adjustment is getting used to freedom, deciding what I'll do next." Anderson admits, "I've forgotten what it's like to have appointments, to have to be organized." History has flashed along at astonishing speed in their absence, and they must catch up. Sutherland already has a fax machine, which he must learn to operate. Both Turner and Anderson have daughters, born during their captivity, whom they must get to know. "I have a whole new life." Anderson says, "It's going to be happy. I'm going to enjoy it. God willing. Reported by Lara Marlowe/ Wiesbaden and Jeanne McDowell and James Willwerth/Los Angeles



THE OTHER HOSTAGES

It is not over for everyone. Two German relief workers, Heinrich Strübig, 50, and Thomas Kemptner, 30, vanished in Lebanon in May 1989. They are being held to exchange for two Arab brothers who are serving life and 13-year sentences in Germany for hijacking and abduction. Italian businessman Alberto Molinari was kidnapped in Beirut in September 1985, but Shi'ites say he was killed. Israel controls some 300 imprisoned Arabs, including Sheik Abdul Karim Obeid, a radical cleric being held to trade for missing Israeli soldiers.

DIPLOMACY

Mr. Behind-the-Scenes

How a courageous United Nations negotiator put himself at risk to broker the hostage deal

By DAVID ELLIS

A madomenico Picco would have beson fusified i he had tried to grah some of the limelight that fell on Terry Anderson and his fellow liberated hostages as they emerged into freedom. Instead, the tall, dapper mediator stoud in the basiground, saying nothing about the key role had played in securing the captives' release. As the point man of U.N. Secretary General Jasier Ferre de Cuellar's sevenmonth campaign to resolve the hostage crisis. Pieco had enguged in a series of crisis. Pieco had enguged in a series of

daunting covert missions to Shi'ite strongholds in Lebanon to bargain with the captors. At times he disappeared from sight for days on end.

Described by Pérez de Cuéllar as "more of a soldier than a diplomat," Picco was a natural choice for the dangerous assignment. The Italianborn Picco, 43, first worked for Pérez de Cuéllar in Cyprus with the U.N. peacekeeping forces in the 1970s. He joined the Secretary-General's personal staff in 1982, and was part of the team that negotiated the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Once pragmatists in Iran's government concluded that the hostage crisis had to be resolved, the first man they turned to was Picco. They trusted him because of his evenhanded role as head of the task force behind the 1988 U.N.-sponsored cease-fire that ended the Iran-Iraq war.

Picco passed the word to Pérez de Cuéllar, who was eager to wrap up the hostage ordeal before his retirement at the end of this year. The U.N. team decided

to work on vio levels. Perze de Cuellar mounted a high profile diplomatic campaiga, repeatedly visiting Iran. Syria and Isnet to obtain official backing for Pieco's visited bargaining. The U.N. chief also sought advice from Brent Seewerfolt. George Boah's National Security Adviser, shot traveled to New York. (ii) to meet secretly with Fierz de Cuellar, sometimes within the Lameding of Thoman Security with the Company of the Company of the Comtraction of the Company of the Company confusion of the Company of the Company confusion of the Company of th

was prepared to help free the hostages. Scowcroft was eareful to act only as a consultant, refusing to involve the U.S. in the bargaining with either the abductors or

their Iranian backers. "Our basic message to the Iranians was that we don't see any reason for abiding hostilities and we were prepared to work toward a new relationship, provided the hostage thing was resolved," says a senior Administration official.

Meanwhile Picco embarked on his seret mission. On several occasions he travcled with Syrian secret police to the border with Lebanon. where he was met by intermediaries waiting in a black Mercedes. Then he was driven—alone, with his head covered by a cloth bage—into the Bekaa

Picco with Anderson last week: Will he return to the Bekaa Valley?

Valley, in the eastern portion of Lebanon. Some of his meetings with Shi'ite operatives were held in the village of Nabisheet, where he may have spoken to some of the hostages. When asked about that possibili-

ty, Pieco crisply responds. "Next question." These forasy were filled with danger. "In order to meet with [the captors], their security was absolutely guaranteed," says Pieco. "I always met with them alone, and always at night. We met many, many times." Pieco needed no reninder that Anglean Church envoy Terry Waite was seized in [987 under similar circumstances. Says Pieco: "Either you are affaird or you are afool." While in Lebanon, Pieco began to move to a different house ever night sign." ter U.N. sources learned that there was a contract on his life.

The U.N. effort started to pick up in August, when British journalist John Mc-Carthy was released. He was carrying a message from Islamic Jihad; if Israel would release more than 500 Arab detainees including Sheik Abdul Karim Obeld; a Shi-'ite Musslim cleric kidnapped by Israeli commandos in 1980; the group would be commandos in 1980; the group would be perfect on a go-between, the two sides began exchanging information about the condition of their prisoners.

A month later, Pérez de Cuéllar went to Tehran to receive Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjanis assurances that he would pressure the radicals to free their captives. At about the same time, Pieco arrived in Lebanon to tell the kidnappers that Israel was willing to release Arab prisoners. In return, the Israelis demanded in-

formation on seven of their servicemen missing in Lebanon, one of whom is known to be alive.

Despite these encouraging developments, Picco feared that the process might unravel in the atmosphere of mutual suspicion. In late October, without clearing the move with Pérez de Cuéllar, Picco instructed the Beirut U.N. information office to announce that an American would be released within 24 hours. The announcement forced the kidnappers to honor their side of the agreement by delivering Jesse Turner to Syrian officials, Four weeks later. Waite and Thomas Sutherland were freed, setting the stage for the end of the hostage drama. In a key session on Nov. 30, Picco received a timetable for the release of Joseph Cicippio, Alann Steen and, finally, Terry Anderson,

But as so often happens in the Middle East, there was a last-minute hitch. Sources in Damascus confirm that Anderson's release was delayed

seven hours because a hard-line faction within Islamic Jihad advocated holding on to him as a bargaining chip. Anderson was freed only after fundamentalist leaders reined in the dissident faction.

While America's notage nightnare has moded. Pieces in mission is incomplete. Securing the return of the two remaining German hostages and the learned sudder will be ticklish, in part because the abbustors are afraid they will be liquidated by vengels il Western governments or abandoned by their former governments or abandoned by their former part of the properties of the properties of delay Piece de Cuellar's dream of bringing the entire hostage sagar to a close—and send Pieco back into the Bekan Valley. — Reported by Bonsh Angels/New York and Larn Merkow/Qhamacan



Open doors: Arabs released from prison in Israeli-controlled s

Freedom Is the Best Revenge

What has been learned from a decade of terrorism and hostage taking? Waiting is the best policy, and events, more than people, make the difference.

By BRUCE W. NELAN

Ithough the American hostages were innocent bystanders in the Middle East, their agonizing captivity became the nation's ordeal. They were kidnapped only because they were Americans, men who represented what Iran and its Shi'ite protégés called "the Great Satan," and their fate became an issue for all Americans, especially for three U.S. Presidents.

No one knew how to set them free. Jimmy Carter publicly displayed his anguish about the Americans seized in the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979, and his failure to get them out helped make him a one-term President. Ronald Reagan tried to strike secret deals with so-called moderates in Iran to free the captives in Lebanon and almost wrecked his presidency. George Bush throttled back on public expressions of concern but encouraged diplomatic pressure on the sponsors of state terrorism in the Middle East. The U.S., he insisted, would make no deals for hostages. But he was willing to let U.N. officials and Israel arrange swaps with

the kidnappers, and he did make small concessions, like returning some Iranian funds. to improve the climate

That turned out to be the right, or at least the successful, policy. But it is difficult to see that any U.S. initiatives on the hostages' behalf actually forced their release. In the end, the faceless Shi'ite kidnappers under the Hizballah umbrella in Lebanon were simply overtaken by events. The world around them changed so dramatically that Iran and Syria, their main supporters, no longer found them or their captives useful. Some of the lessons gleaned from years of terrorism and hostage taking

The forces at play were beyond American control. The surge of Islamic fundamentalism that carried the Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini to power struck a resonant chord with Shi'ite organizations in Lebanon. So

did the Iranian mobs that stormed into the American embassy in Tehran and held 52 hostages for 444 days. Israel's invasion and subsequent occupation of the self-proclaimed security zone nine miles deep into Lebanese territory uprooted Shi'ite towns and sparked the creation of Hizballah, the radical Party of God, built up with Iranian advisers and money. Its proclaimed mission: to drive the Israelis and their Lebanese auxiliaries of the South Lebanon Army out of the country. The U.S. became a target when it moved Marines into Lebanon to support the Israeli-backed Christian government in Beirut, reinforcing Hizballah's belief that Israel's strength came from the aid and political support the Jewish state got from America. Said one of Terry Anderson's Islamic Jihad captors only two months ago: "The Israeli invasion was financed by America, which also supplied the weapons.

The next step was obvious. Hostage taking had proved spectacularly successful in getting U.S. attention in Iran, and it was an age-old Lebanese tradition that became even more popular when sectarian civil war broke out in 1975

Kidnapping Westerners-not just Americans were in peril-was easy. After u while, holding them became an end in itself

Quality is Job 1.

Profile in Quality #33: Innovation

Crang Manual.

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craig is one of over 366,000

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for the extremist groups, earning them prestige among their allies and rivals, and moncy from Iran.

Rescue attempts are emotionally satisfying but rarely successful. Carter's catastrophe in the Iranian desert cast a shadow over later U.S. plans. A scheme for rescuing the 39 passengers and erew hijacked aboard TWA Flight 847 in 1985 was bungled or never got off the ground.

Not that the U.S. did not think about rescuing the hostages, In the summer of 1985. Lieut. Colone! Oliver North and Amiram Nir. the Israeli government's counterterrorism adviser, recruited 40 Lebanese Druze and paid them \$1 million tohelp mount a rescue bid that never came off. The problem was a tack of good intelligence. The Hibballa groups were as secretered to the problem of the problem of

tive and fanatic that Western agents could never get close enough to them to keep track of precisely where they were holding the hostages. But Syria could have helped, according to a Western intelligence report that reached the Israeli government. The report claimed that whenever and wherever the hostages were moved, "the Syrians get an update." The report further claimed that Syrian President Hafez Assad asked his close aides to determine whether it was in his interest to help the Americans get their hostages freed. The unanimous recommendation was no, but Syria might profitably help France retrieve its captives.

Vengeance is not an option. There were, theoretically, other tough-minded approaches. The U.S. could have taken reciprocal hostages, as Israel did, or attacked the sponsoring

states, as it did when it hombed Libya in 1996. Such actions might have done nothing to free the hostages and would only have complicated life for Washington. Taking hostages is against the law, and if it have the support of the support of the support regarding in criminal behavior, the domestic and international backlash would be severe. It also would finand the advantage to the terrorists: it would be casier for them to seize more and more unsuspecting civilians than for Western intelligence agencies to offencing the support of the support of the support of the control of the support of the support of the offencing control of the support of the support of the offencing control of the support of the support of the offencing control of the support of the support of the offencing control of the support of the support of the support of the offencing control of the support of the support of the support of the offencing control of the support of the

Similar objections apply to bombing a Lebanese town or a training camp in the Bekaa Valley, Israel does it, of course, but Israel is at war with Lebanon. It would be diplomatically and domestically impolitic for Washington if its hombs landed on anyone but active terrorists. And bombing tarsets in Iran or Syria would have horrified. most Arabs and soured U.S. relations with Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

The U.S. attack on Libya has proved effective in curbing Muammar Gaddaff's terrorist adventures, but the strike was not cost free. It led directly to the execution of U.S. hostage Peter Kilburn and two British captives. And Washington now fingers Libya for the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 ower Lockerbie, Soutland, that

killed 270 people.
Some politicains in the Middle East did
think the U.S. should have threatened
Ayatullah Khomeini with force. A French
intelligence report, based partly on testimony of Hizballah defectors and Iranian
opposition members, claimed that every
act of terrorism committed by Iranian or
pro-Iranian agents during 1986 was personally approved by the Ayatulled by the Ayatulled

(ii) Ollie North's secret arms-for-hostages scheme blew up in political scandal, it did secure the release of three Americans: the Rev. Benjamin Weir, Father Lawrence Jenco and David Jacobsen. But most U.S. politicians and the majority of the population were not prepared to countenance such a cynical trade.

In the end, circumstances, more than people, made the difference. Hizballish began to run into trouble in 1989. Iran was in terribe strains after eight years of war with Iran, The florecly anti-American Rine. Albar Hasheim Rafsanjani. decided in was necessary to cool revolutionary rhetoric in order to twoor desporately needed traide and investment from the West. The slaw shift in Iran tuward more pragmature policies



Wheeling, Dealing
Making deals with terrorlats
is shortsighted and
unpopular, but Oliver North,
above, used arms shipments
to buy freedom for
Lawrence Jenco, David
Jacobseen and Benjamin Weir



That same year Amiram Nir posed as an American diplomat at a meeting with an Iranian official. According to a tape recording of their conversation, the Iranian told Nir he should analyze Khomein's Character. "If he is faced with someone who is strong," said the Iranian, "he retreats 100 steps. You were softies with him."

Asked where the U.S. should use its muscle, the fraint replied, "Lebanon. If you tell him. You have to release all the hostages in Lebanon within five days, otherwise we are going to launch a military strike against you, and not only that, you if do it. You have to show you are strong." There were Americans who felt the same way to apparently here of the control of the same way to the control of the control

Wheeling and dealing sometimes works, but carries a moral and political cost. Unto end the country's pariah status was the biggest single reason the last U.S. hostages in Lebanon were finally released.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the cutoff of most of its aid carried a blunt message to Syria, another major backer of terrorists. There was no longer any ifted-hood of becoming a regional superpower with armaments supplied by Moscow. As Iran took a more moderate course, Syrian President Assad had to worry about becoming isolated if he continued to support the extremist factions.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwaii marked the begining of the end of the hostage drama. First, 15 pro-Iranian terrorists were released from prison in Kuwaii, climinating one of the Hizballah factions' principal demands. Then Assad weighed the odds and joined Saudi Arabia and Egspt in the international coalition arrayed against his archenemy Saddam Hussein. When Iraq's armwased-



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Hostages

stroyed. Arab extremism and rejectionism suffered a devastating blow. The Urs. emerged as the only superpower with influence in the region and was actively trying to restart the Middle East peace process.

Assad decided to try diplomacy, the only game in town. The U.S. responded to the shift and to Syria's cooperation against Iraq with modifications of its own. Washington signaled that instead of trying to force Syria out of Lebanon, where its "peacekeeping" forces had settled in the U.S. might be able to five with Syria as the dominant power there.

The hostages were now a hindrance to both Iran and Syria in their hopes to improve relations with the West, so they decided to end the stalemate by pressing the Hizballah

factions to release them. Once main players had a real interest in secking a solution, the pieces began into fall in place. There Western hostages were released last August, and the kidnappers invited U.N. Secretary-General Javier Pérez, de Cuéllar to step in.

A successful negotiation has to give something to everyone. As it turned out, when the end of the hostage crisis came into sight, the U.S. leaned toward concessions that cost it little. It looked the other way when Syria tightened its grip on Lebanon. It continued to release blocked Iranian funds. Last week Washington handed over \$278 million it owed Tehran for American-made ships and planes that Iran had paid for but never reeeived after Khomeini took power. The U.S. also stopped objecting to other people-U.N. and Israeli negotiatorsdealing with the kidnappers.

while courraignt into who was and along while courraignt fines who were while courraignt fines with sore with there is a clean with there is a clear distinction between its minor concessions and those that might encourage future houstage taking. The return of braseli-controlled captrieses was branched to be a support of the courage future flexible and given between controlled and the courage future flexible and possible to the first of the freedly category. By giving nothing a modified have been stilling to concede in some flow how the course flow of the first of the freedly category. By giving nothing a modified how been stilling to concede the course of the first of the

Amid the futility, real winners are hard to find. But after eight years of the hostage drama, every participant will try to claim some gains:

The U.S. has its citizens back, stronger influence than ever in the Middle East, and

can persuasively claim its stand-firm policy was successful. Even while the hostages were in terrorist hands, the U.S. continued to support Israel and led the coalition against frag.

The U.N. by proving that a legitimate, neutral negotiator can succeed even in highly publicized efforts, has gained new stature and importance in the world.

Iran is shedding its pariah status, strengthening ties with Western Europe and getting back hundreds of millions of dollars in badly needed frozen funds, despite masterninding the whole crisis. Lest anyone think Bush was ready to embrace fran. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said last week, "They are still a terrorist state and there's still no change in that." years of brutalizing their captives. In a widcotaped statement read by Terry Anderson the day of his release, Islamic Jihad asserted. "We made the world listen to our voice and the voice of the oppressed and suffering people, took off the mask from the ugly American face and criminal Israel face, deepened the state of enmity and hate in the spirits of oppressed peoples toward both of them."

As Anderson observed, even those who deeply disagree with that statement "should try to understand it." The international realignments that ended the hostage crisis represent a major setback to the political force of Islamic fundamentalism. "Middle East terrorism has been a failure." Says Barry Rubin, a terrorism expert



They Did Not Return Lieut. Colonel William Higgins, above, was hanged by kidnappers in July 1989; Pter Kilburn, right, was shot in April 1986; CIA officer William Buckley, far right, died in captivity in 1985



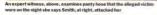
Syria is the master of Lebanon, which if has always exceted, It is still on the U.S. list of terrorist-supporting nations, but its relations with the West are improving. Washington has even hinted that it will be more supportive of Syria's demand that Israel return the Golan Heights.

Israel is worried that it has not completed the deal yet, but is willing to trade almost 300 Lebanese prisoners, along with kidrapped Sheik Abdul Karim Obeid, a Hizballah elerie, for one possible Israeli survivor, air force Captain Ron Arad, and the remains of live other servicemen.

The kidnappers accomplished none of their major goals. But Fehran claims they have been reassured that they will not be eaptured and killed now that they have turned loose their hostages. Though their sponsors in Iran and Syria have pulled back, the kidnappers still claim to have found redemption and inspiration in their at Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute. "From the point of view of carrying out a revolution, of changing U.S. policy, or of driving the U.S. out of the region." Terrorism, for now, has been sidelined in Lebanon, Iran and Syria.

But its causes-the deep feelings of injustice and anger at Israel and the U.S .have not been eliminated. If the on-again, off-again peace talks do not move the participants toward a reasonable agreement. extremists will shout that diplomacy does not work, that violence and blood are the only language the other side understands. Already Islamic Jihad charges that the U.S. is using the peace conference "to complete imprisoning the whole region and chaining its people. The threat could hardly be plainer: if there is no peace. American eitizens can expect to be made victims Reported by William Dowell/ once more. Cairo and J.F.O. McAllister/Washington







Nation

JURISPRUDENCE

Trial by Television

As millions tune in to the William Kennedy Smith drama, some wonder whether justice is being served by the gavel-to-gavel TV coverage

By RICHARD LACAYO

o one should have expected that the first court case to claim a huge television audience would center on municipal-bond trading. With a famous name linked to a sordid crime, the rape trial of William Kennedy Smith fits neatly into the usual daytime schedule of leering soap operas. For the same reason, it has turned out to be a test of whether TV cameras will turn the law into a brand of vaudeville. In a case full of senatorial bar hopping and a parlor game called Vegetable, it's already difficult to keep in sight the serious charges-rape and battery-at the trial's heart. It doesn't help when expert testimony on the alleged victim's underclothes is interrupted by a commercial for the Home Shopping Network

Yet as justice collided with the video age last week, the impact of TV in the

fendant's quilt or innecesse. The just, which is expuested at the close of each day, see, none of the television coverage but the single prospective sources and the balm Beach County courthouse sends eye eye word and gesture—everything, there is except the face of the alleged victim—to a just of million. During some parts the testimony by the alleged victim that week, the underned for Cable News Network climbed to nearly 3.2 million viceers, nine times what CSN usually draws those hours.

What those millions are seeing is a cissels senso specie with scandid. "Think it's a second major dose of consciousness raising or the public shout sexual crimes, following Anits Hill's testimony," says Lee Bollinger, dean of the University of Michigan law school. No less important, the daily occurage is a window onto the real conduct of traits. Without the cameras, there, says Steven Brill, Dereident of, earlier TV's Steven Brill, Dereident of, eable TV's

Smith case was as hard to judge as the defendant's guilt or innocence. The jury, which is sequestered at the close of each day, sees none of the television coverage, vou see dignity and solemnity."

To say nothing of monotony. In even the security of the securi

Viewes also learn to appreciate that in courtroom testimony, demenor and delivery are crucial. Prosecutor Moira Lasch must still be regetting that she called Anne Mercer to the stand. On the night of the alleged incident, Mercer went with Smith's accuser to Au Bar, the tony Palm Beach bangout where they met Smith in the company of his uncle, Senator Edward Kennedy, and Kennedy's son Patrick. Lasch got what she wanted from Mercer: testimony that the alleged victim yelled "rape" early on. The jury may remember her fashion-mag appearance and soulless

Then there is the question of whether televising this kind of trial, for this kind of alleged crime, is appropriate at all. For the accuser, the bitterest part of a rape trial is the experience of having her personal life spread before the court, and usually torn apart by the defense. Gavel-to-gavel coverage only magnifies the misery-perhaps even more so in this instance, as the accuser's face is concealed on camera in a way that protects her identity but also turns her into a cipher. The prospect of being at center ring in their own media circus may be discouraging other rape victims from coming forward. Reported rapes in Palm Beach County dropped from 96 in April, when the Smith story broke, to 68 in November.

Nonetheless, Smith's accuser made moving and effective use of her two days on the stand. Her sometimes tearful testimony put defense attorney Roy Black in a delicate position. He subjected her to a nostone-unturned cross-examination that revealed what he said were inconsistencies in her testimony on such matters as whether she screamed during the reported rape. But even restrained questioning of a purported rape victim can sound like an accountant torturing a political prisoner, which can alienate jurors. And at no point did the woman budge from her central contention: "Your client raped me."

lan Dershowitz, the Harvard University law professor and outspoken defense attorney, thinks the tearful outbursts of Smith's accuser are affected by television. "You're playing to a bigger stage, to the world, and your gestures have to be bigger," he says. Unlike theater, however, TV is a medium geared to close-ups, where small gestures work too. On the stand, Senator Kennedy made his own play to the emotions in a subdued fashion. And even in a sensational trial, emotional high points may be less important to the jury than the persistent repetition of a bit of evidence that either side insists is crucial. Defense attorney Black spent much of last week hammering away at the mystery of when the alleged victim took off her panty hose. an issue that could support the defense claim that she invited sex with Smith by removing them before the couple went strolling on the beach. The prosecution is likely to stress the doctor's report that shows that Smith's accuser suffered injuries consistent with a rape

In the end, TV may help the law by exposing the painstaking accumulation of facts required to prove guilt. It is a dispiriting truth, however, that viewers fail to demand fuller coverage of proceedings that don't involve Kennedys and panty hose like the trials of Manuel Noriega or S&L bandit Charles Keating Jr. But showmanship still counts. Would it be any surprise if the cameras tempted lawyers, witnesses and judges to posture a bit more than they already would for the jury? Maybe these matters were better understood back in 1962, when Raymond Burr, the star of Perry Mason, sought a meeting with Edward Bennett Williams, the famous defense attorney. In those days it seemed fitting that a make-believe lawyer should look for tips from a real one. It may soon be the other way around. Mr. Burr, check your messages. - Reported by Cathy Booth/

West Palm Beach and Andrea Sachs/New York

Behind the Blue Dot

By CATHY BOOTH WEST PALM BEACH

S he was nameless and faceless, just a blue dot, gray smudge or white circle on TV screens. Only her shoulder-length black

hair was visible around the edges of the distortion, along with a bit of tailored suit and a string of pearls. Inside the courtroom, however, the jury and a few spectators had a clear view for nearly two days of a 30-year-old single mother struggling with a variety of emotions, from anger to anguish, as she testified about a fateful

During almost 10 hours of bruising testimony and cross-examination, the alleged rape victim struggled hard to maintain her composure. But frequently she failed. Rather plain-featured, simply but expensively dressed, she looked only twice at the man she says raped her. Asked to identify him, she exhaled and paused before nodding briefly at William Kennedy Smith. In an almost matter-of-fact tone, she described meeting him at the trendy Au Bar disco last Easter weekend, Smith, she said, seemed such "a very nice Tears and steely insistence man," whom she trusted because as a

medical-school student, he could talk about the problems she had experienced with her prematurely born daughter, now 2

It was a far different man, she alleged, who slammed her to the ground, pulled up her skirt, pulled aside her panties, raped her and then said indifferently, "No one will believe you." As she was asked to provide more and more graphic details of the

alleged rape, she fidgeted with her pearl necklace, rubbed her left shoulder, then broke into uncontrollable tears. No one gave her a tissue at first, so she wiped them away with her hands as the courtroom audience watched in fascination. The woman struggled to maintain

composure as defense attorney Roy Black hammered away at lapses and inconsistencies in the five statements she gave to police. How was he able to get your legs apart? Was penetration difficult or easy? Were you in any way sexually aroused? Did you feel ejaculation? Was he able to maintain an erection? "Why do you have to ask me questions like that?" she asked, looking Black in the eye as her tears ran. Invariably when she broke down. Black would request a recess, often over the woman's objections.

During more than five hours of cross-examination, the alleged victim held to her main accusation with steely insistence. Only on Thursday did she let her anger break through. With her eyes swollen from the tears, she leaned forward and wagged her finger at Smith across the courtroom. "What he did to me was wrong," she said. "I don't want to live for the rest of my life in fear of

that man. I don't want to be responsible for him doing it to someone else." Presiding judge Mary Lupo ordered jurors to disregard the statement. When attorney Black offered one last objection, the witness still did not buckle. "Sir," she said flatly, "your client raped me." Afterward, she left without saying a





PRESS

What's in a Middle Name?

Plenty. And some 300 curious journalists are watching the William Kennedy Smith trial on TV, like everyone else.

By JOE QUEENAN WEST PALM BEACH

In the world of journalism, there are datelines that burn forever in the cruciof memory; Berlin '45. Little Rock '57. Léopoldville '64. Chicago '68. Now a new one can be added: West Palm Beach '91.

Some 301 journalists, not to mention inunwerable tabloid-TV types from shows like. J Current Affair and Hard Copp. have converged on this drowsy reserv. Local TV news shows, with their marvelous ability to the hearthand every night, creating the innecrate impression that the trial is a drama control of the control of the control of the discoverage is a "200." A 200 it may be. In one with very small, very decide animals.

The truth is, from the point of view of the working press, it's generally pretty dull stuff. Hours are spent hanging around the courthouse waiting to be one of the 16 reporters admitted to the drab little courtroom in which the case is being tried. The rest of the time, the hundreds of journalists (including several dozen from France, England, Germany, Spain and Italy) lounge around a makeshift media center watching Court TV. which they could do in their hotel rooms. At one point, a reporter sitting in a room full of 90 journalists, who are watching the trial on dozens of TVs. positions two tane recorders in front of a set, ensuring that she will have duplicate recordings of the television's audio portion. This is not quite the way Woodward and Bernstein brought down a President.

Meanwhile dozens of photographers in the courtyard below laze about, waiting for the defendant or an important witness to come down, ignore them and bolt into a

"It's unbelievably boring," says Evelyn Kusserow, a reporter for Germany's Stem magazine, as she sits in front of a TV in the offices of the Palm Beach Review watching public prosecutor Moira Lasch's performance. Minutes later, a camera crew from the German weekly Der Spiegel wanders in. ostensibly to film a roomful of American journalists watching the televised trial. Little do they know that one of the people they are filming is a fellow countrywoman. Thus the Germans from Der Spiegel have flown thousands of miles to cover the coverage of the trial, and end up with footage of a German reporter from Stern watching an American TV, while the trial takes place 300 yards away. Sacco and Vanzetti it ain't.

The event does have its inspiring moments, Steve Dunleavy, the Outback Geraldos Rivera, who cut his journalistic teeth at Rupert Murdoch's sensationalist New York Post and now does checkbook journalism for A Current Affair, regularly turns up in public places, stage-whispering into his cellular phone. Dunleavy actually be-

comes a cog in the machinery of justice when Smith's attorney. Roy Black, shreds the credibility of Anne Mercer, one of the alleged rape victim's principal witnesses, by accising her of spicing up her testimony after receiving \$40,000 from Dunleavy's show.

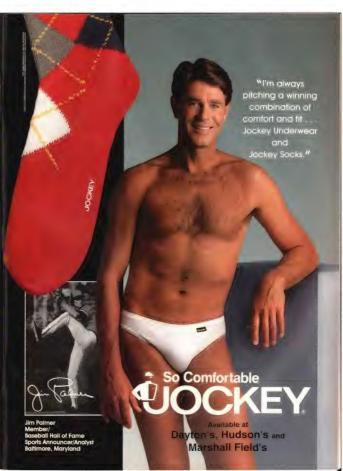
Scant minutes after Mercer has been skewered by the
defense, Dundewy escorts her
back to her car, then glides
past rows of press cameras
with a proud grin on his face.
At one point the Canrau, Hfair star is overheard chatting
with a colleague on the mobile
phone. Then he abruptly
breaks off and asys conspiratorially, "Tll call you back later on a safe line."

The journalistic horde seems to be split into two camps: those who are covering the trial and those who are covering the "media circus." Those who are covering the

trial spend almost all their time watching. TV, then rushing out to phones or TV cameras to utter the same phrases as their 200 peers. Those who are covering the media circus spend their time interviewing other journalists reporters from the Mi-ami Herald grill reporters from the Mi-soir, while reporters from Italy's Le Repubblica patiently answer questions posed by reporters rom the Pain beach Pau.

The electronic media are somewhat more resourceful. The night before the trial, a popular local watering hole holds a look-alike contest for women who think they resemble presiding Circuit Judge Mary Lupo, A team from Geraldo Rivera's media empire turns up and obtains live footage of dozens of other journalists ordering Diet Pepsis and Campari-andseltzers at the event. The cameraman zeroes in on the bartender as he mixes a drink and passes it to a thirsty reporter. Lights, camera, action. The cameraman works for the program Now It Can Be Told. Now it can be told that bartenders in Palm Beach mix Campari-and-seltzers for journalists from out of town? Why couldn't it be told

Deep in their hearts, most journalists know that if so waste of resources to three 30th reporters covering an unity, rape train in Southern Forbins, the three dearning software to the southern Forbins, the three dearning to the southern Forbins, the three dearning to the southern Forbins, and the active stress is womening. But the public seemingly can't get enough of the Kannedess, see reporters pour in from It-aly, from France, from Spain, from Braint, runn Manhattan, tom't everywhere. I am Youn Samuel of France-Soie. "Wille Smith is a nobody."



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The long walk home: Sununu left Meridian, Miss., last week after handing the President his resignation

THE WHITE HOUSE

Clearing the Decks

With an eye on next year's race, Bush jettisons his chief of staff. But it will take more than personnel changes to set a new course for the economy.

By JACK E. WHITE

or weeks, as George Bush's standing in the polls dropped and fears grew that the economy might stagger back into recession, he had been under pressure from both friend and foe to do something to get his presidency back on track.

Bush finally did something last weekin fact, several things. He replaced unpopular White House chief of staff John Suunan with Transportation Secretary Samuel Skinner, a likable moderate who has emerged as one of the Administration's smoothest troubleshooters. He appointed a trio of pragmatic political strategists— Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher. Polister Robert Teeter and Republican businessman Fred Malek—to lead his reelection campaign. Yet before the week ended, two of Bush's advisers publicly disagreed about the wisdom of cutting taxes for the middle class, once again underscoring the divisions within the President's inner circle about how much should be done to resuscitate the economy.

All this activity did nothing to dispel the impression that the President, relativeby surefronted in foreign affairs, has no clear ideas for solving homegown problems. Sumum did not help matters by his autocrate, high-profile style, and in recent weeks he found himself embroiled in sevreal public spats that did not inspire confidence in his leadership. At one point Sumun seemed to criticac the President for

a remark about high interest rates on credit cards: at another point he accosted a Washington Poar reporter at a bill-signing ceremony, shouting, "You're a far! Everything you write is lies!" Skinner is certain to run a more collegial shop, but unless Bush can make up his mind about what course he should take, the personnel changes will mean little.

By mid-November, after several of Bush's political strategists warned that they would find it difficult to work with Sununu on the 1992 campaign. Bush concluded that his chief of staff had become a seriious liability. Yet the President, who values loyalty above all else, could not bring himself to give the bad news personally to his old friend. Instead he delegated the assign-

ment to his oldest son, George W. Bush. who met with Sununu on Nov. 27.

But either because the vounger Bush was too deferential in delivering the message or because the chief of staff refused to understand it, Sununu deluded himself into thinking that he could save his job by rallying conservatives behind him. Instead of resigning, he began phoning conservatives on Capitol Hill and elsewhere, imploring them to let the President know they supported him.

Some lawmakers, including Congressmen Newt Gingrich, Henry Hyde and Vin

Weber, responded positively to Sununu's appeal. But the chief of staff's many enemies in Washington saw an opportunity to take revenge. Republican leader Robert Dole, who has seethed since Sununu helped Bush win the 1988 New Hampshire primary by suggesting that Dole was a closet advocate of higher taxes, coldly spurned him. Then Dole twisted the knife by describing Sununu's phone call to a television interviewer. Some White House officials and G.O.P. political strategists were miffed that Sununu was trying to end run the President. Bush himself was reported to be "chapped" by what seemed to be an attempt to blackmail him into retaining Sununu.

Last Tuesday Sununu gave in. On a presidential visit to Florida and Mississippi, he delivered his handwritten resignation, stating that as a private citizen he would continue to support Bush "in pit bull mode or pussey [sic] cat mode (your choice, as always)." He will remain at the White House as a counsellor to the President until March 1, presumably to help steer the Bush campaign through the New Hampshire primary.

Sununu's downfall was pleasing to many White House staffers who had long

chafed under his imperious management. One senior official answered a reporter's call by singing, "Ding dong, the witch is dead." Said a somewhat disgusted David Carney, a White House political aide who has worked for Sununu for 11 years: "Are people gleeful today that John Sununu is leaving? Absolutely. Is he surprised? Not at all. He played hardball, and he got hardball. He knows how politics works, and he wasn't in this to win any popularity contests."

But the rejoicing could be premature. For one thing, right-wing rage at Sununu's ouster could fuel a challenge from conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan, who is expected to announce his candidacy this week. In theory at least, Buchanan and former Ku Klux Klansman David Duke, who proclaimed that he would enter several Southern G.O.P. primaries next spring, could present the same kind of difficulty for Bush and his party that George Wallace did for the Democrats during the late '60s and early '70s and that Jesse Jackson did during the '80s. Duke and Buchanan will seek to portray the President as squishy soft on such issues as taxes, abortion and civil rights. Says veteran Republican political

consultant Eddie Mahe: "Having conserva-

Why Bush Got Rid Of Sununu

A jealous guardian of the Oval Office, Sununu kept other advisers at bay. He became even more insular and defensive after it was revealed that he had used government aircraft and chauffeured government cars for private trips.

Sununu opposed proposals to revive the economy if they involved breaking last year's budget deal. With Sununu out of the picture, the balance will shift toward the Administration's "do something" faction, which favors middle-class tax cuts.

The President's top political strategists complained that they could not work effectively with the imperious chief of staff. Said one: "Several of us had started finding excuses not to attend Sununu's little political strategy sessions. There wasn't any point. He'd already made up his mind when we came in the door.



During the fateful trip, Bush lunched with Florida workers

tives making endless charges against Bush cannot help. Over time, it leaves a residue of negative information out there that's not helpful." Even so, there is virtually no possibility that either rival could prevent Bush's renomination. In fact, by denying him conservative votes, they might even help Bush by forcing him to steer a course to the middle, where the bulk of the voters who will decide the November election is found.

A more significant threat to Bush's reelection is the economy, which shows few signs of reviving quickly. On Friday the Labor Department reported that in November employers laid off 241,000 workers, the largest drop in jobs since last winter when the economy was mired in recession. Earlier Bush had made a symbolic attempt to show that he is willing to give the economy a jolt by speeding up \$9.7 billion worth of federal spending. But most experts believe that is far too small a sum to have much impact on the \$5.7 trillion economy.

Several of the President's economic advisers have concluded that more dramatic action is needed. But Bush has deferred outlining his new economic-growth package until the State of the Union address in late January. This "do nothing now" stance is

rooted in part in Bush's natural caution, a tendency that Sununu reinforced because of his unwillingness to reopen the budget accord that requires that any new tax cut be offset by equivalent tax hikes or reductions in domestic spending. Sununu feared that tinkering with the pact would lead to compromises on taxes, which would further anger conservatives.

With Sununu out of the way, the balance may shift toward the Administration's "do something big" faction, which includes Vice President Dan Quayle, Council of Economic Advisers chairman Michael Boskin and Housing Secretary Jack Kemp. In an appearance before the House Ways and Means Committee last week, Boskin and Budget Director Richard Darman suggested that Bush would be willing to break the budget agreement to give the economy a shot in the arm by lowering taxes for the middle class. But when the hearings resumed after a luncheon break, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, leader of the Adminstration's "do as little as possible" faction, differed with his colleagues, claiming that breaking the budget agreement would cause interest rates to soar.

Boskin, backed by Quayle and Kemp, has argued inside the White House that the economy would benefit from a middle-income tax cut in the range of 1% of GNP, or about \$57 billion-a much bigger reduction than the Democrats have proposed. Such a stimulus would not significantly drive up interest rates or inflation, Boskin has argued, so long as caps are kept on future federal spending, as in the 1990 budget accord. Clearly the Administration's internal struggle over economic policy is far from over. The outcome will probably be determined by the positions taken by Bush's new chief of staff and campaign team. - With reporting by Laurence I. Barrett/Washington



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THE NEW CHIEF

Loyal but Not So Arrogant

Sam Skinner's résumé as a crisis manager should serve him well wrestling the White House into shape

By MICHAEL DUFFY WASHINGTON

when George Bush gathered 36 political advisers around a Camp David conference table last August to discuss the 1992 campaign, most of his guests jockeyed for choice seats near Bush or chief of staff John Sunum. Avoiding the fray, however, was Sam Skinner, who entered

was sain skilling; who chiefed what is a seal and quiefly took a seat along the back wall. While others injected unsulie-tied opinions and tried to score points with the boss. Skinner spoke only when Bush requested his opinion, which a scording to one participant, happened frequently. "It was clear to everybody in the room that John Sunnun was still Bushs' right hand, but that Sam Skinner was on Bush's mind."

Few insiders were surprised when Bush turned to Skinner to reverse his sagging political fortunes and end the disarray at the White House. In three years as Secretary of Transportation, Skinner has emerged as the Administration's top crisis manager, a lovalist whose tenacity and competence have earned him Bush's respect and admiration. Most important, the 53-yearold Illinois lawyer lacks both the ideological agenda and know-it-all arrogance that made Sununu an enemy of nearly everyone in Washington. "He wanted someone in the job as loyal as John," Skinner said last week in an interview with TIME, "and he wanted someone who gets along

with people."

Skinner's people skills are not in doubt. Since coming to Washington, Skinner has sur-

prised White House aides by volunteering to make telephone calls and gos speeches on problems unrelated to transportation. He has gene to great lengths to woo members of Congress. in one instance personal telephone congress, in one instance personal takes of lenn Anderson, then 76 and chairman of the Public Words Committee. Skinner became a regular golfling partner of Dan Quaylet of a \$27,000 trip at taxpayer expense to the Augusts National Golf Club

in Georgia aboard Air Force Two earlier this year. Skinner's wife Honey, a Washington lawyer, befriended Bush's daughter Doro, leading a house-hunting trip for the First Daughter when she moved to Washington from Maine a few years ago. "Skinner is the only guy I know who showed up at the White House mess just to hang out."

Humble enough to do favors for all, astute enough to know generosity has its rewards

cracked a senior official. Says Skinner: "I've always tried to be considerate of people because you never know when you're going to be out of these jobs."

Unlike Sununu, the low-key Skinner is accustomed to playing the supporting role. A protégé of former Illinois Governor Jim Thompson's, Skinner was reared in Illinois, received an accounting degree at the University of Illinois, served in the Army and then joined IBM as a sales representative. Though the computer company is

named him Outstanding Salesman of 1967. Skimer attended law school at night and gave up his \$50,000-a-year corporate job to be a \$9,000-a-year prosecutor in the U.S. Attorney's office. He rose to U.S. Attorney, earning the nickname "Sam the Hammer" for his aggressive prosecution of corrupt officials in the state Democratic machine:

During the 1980s. Skinner practiced law at the prestigious Chicago firm of Sidley & Austin. He served as chairman of the city's enormous Regional Transit Authority. At Thompson's suggestion, he ran Bush's Illinois primary campaign in 1980 and his general election campaign

in the state in 1988, when he was baptized "Velcro" by Bush's Washington staff for his uncanny ability to stay close to the candidate during visits to Illinois. When Bush won, Thompson championed Skinner for Transportation.

In a reactive White House where quick reflexes are prized, Skinner became the preferred troubleshooter. He managed the Administration's response to the Exxon Valdez oil spill, the Eastern Air Lines strike. Hurricane Hugo and the 1989 California earthquake. Now Skinner's task is to cut dead weight from the White House staff and reawaken the Administration's dormant domestic policy and public relations operation. His appointment has worried some conservatives, who relied on Sununu to take their side in most fights. But Skinner, who has recently applied his charms to the right, insists that he is "as conservative as any conservative" and adds that "Bush's programs are my

programs."
There may be nothing Sam
Skinner won't do for Bush.
During a 1989 G.O.P. fund-raising dinner, a Secret Service
agent, careful not to alarm the
crowd, inched toward the head
table on all fours. He tapped
Skinner on the foot and said.

"Follow me, sir." Without ado, the Secretary of Transportation got down on his hands and knees and crawled between tables, chairs and legs to the rear of the ballroom, then stepped into a waiting limousine and motored to the White House Situation Room, where he planned the California earthquake cleanup.

One can hardly imagine John Sununu on his hands and knees for anybody.

—With reporting by Elaine Shannon/Washington and Elizabeth Taylor/Chicago

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THE FEELING

COGNAC



Happier days: Sununu and Bush campaign in the Granite State

The Political Interest

Michael Kramer

Hello George, New Hampshire's Calling

NASHUA, N.H., As the nees of John Summis full blaned from the television set last Tiseasky, a smile of sweet revenge crossed High Gregg's Inec., and his hand, which had turned purple from stranging a golf putter in antiopation of the announcement. Intally relaxed. "A great day," and Gregg, who has guided Gorge, Bush through the Pruising sworth of New Hamping Keynshiem gallets, succ. 1979, when the turners of the putter of the property of the putter of the putter of the swift early help the President here."

For the G.O.P., which has controlled the Granite State's politics since the beginning of time, intraparty warfare is a lavorite spectator sport and the Gregg-Sununu feud is its Super Bowl. Gregg, 74, was Governor in the mid-1950s, and has been New Hampshire's leading moderate Republican ever since. Sununu's election as Governor in 1982 was a triumph for the party's conservative wing. Gregg's son Judd, 44, is the current Governor, Judd succeeded Sununu and is more conservative than his father, but the old rivalry endures. Thus the simple matter of how to respond to Sununu's departure became a minierisis. With Judd away, the stance-crafting chore fell to Hugh, who is his son's closest political confidant. Judd's staff wanted to say nothing at all. Hugh urged a mild statement of praise. "You don't kick a man when he's down," Hugh told one of his son's aides, chuckling to signal that he really would like to do nothing better. "Actually." says Hugh, "we saw the end coming when the President called Judd two weeks ago to say he wanted us, rather than Sununu, to run the '92 re-election drive here. Now a lot of Republicans who've been sitting back because they can't stand Sununu will come out of the woodwork, and we'll finally get this show on the road.

Not a moment too soon. The expected primary challenge to Bush from conservative commentation Pat Buchanan is no triffling matter in New Hampshire. The state's first-in-then-attion primary has always heen an outsized test of political strength, and Bush has always had difficulties here. Buchanan could easily earture 30% of the 6,60°, primary sole; anything higher will be interpreted as a sethack for Bush even if, technically, he wins. A Buchanan victory could roil everything. Since 1952—when Harry Truman decided to retire after losing to Estes Kefauver—no one has been elected President without first winning his party's New Hampshire primary.

Buchmann's most significant support comes from the state's largest newspaper, the Manchester Union Leader, whose hostility toward Bush is legend. The paper's late pubisher, William Loeb, years ago labeled Bush a 'Cetan-lingernalt. silk-stocking libreal.' and no amount of presidential stroking has callend Loeb's successor, this widow Nackey, 67. To ber, Bush simply "sits under an umbrella and watches the form, lioping, to come out with neither rain on his face nor

Caryon in sect.

Loeb's assessment goes to the core of Bush's political problem, and Hugh Gregg, respected across ideological lines as a straight shooter, frankly agrees with some of the Union Leader's criticism. "We're hurting real bad," says Gregg, "and I don't think the President has any concept of what's going on un here."

Only three years agos. New Hampshire enjoyed phenomenal prosperity. Foodig the question is not when things will get better, but how much worse they will become. In the wake of defense-industry ruthades, are ale-take but and hunk failes, the state's unemployment rate has risen from 2.4% when Blash was elected to 4.9%, the highest September rate ever In the past rive years 10% of New Hampshire's job have just disparent. The cases of increase in the number of peoples on food proceed the cases of increase in the number of peoples on food since the past rive years work command its particular than the past free years work command its purchase price are reade until the end of the century.

"We're not unsuphisticated," says Gregg, "We overbuilt and overcommitted, and it's mostly our own fault. But it's rational for people to feel that the President isn't doing enough to help, We can't wait for the January State of the Union address to learn what the Administration's new economic-stimulus plan is and I can't understand why we have to."

Gregg predicts that Buchanan will get "a healthy protest vote" and that "others will show their upset by staying home on Election Day," But he is nonetheless confident that Bash will prevail because "there's no serious alternative." If there were, says Edward Dupont, the Republican state-senate president," we might well have a different story."

Dupont and other Republicans identify the President's swiffling on the fissue of extending unemployment compensation benefits as particularly harmful to Bush. "The folks being laid off now are highly skiffed, hard-ownking tapapyers caught in a depression." says Dupont, who has been forced to lay off our employees from his beating fived business in order to care for the control of the control o

Hugh Gregg's lists priority is to get Hugh "up here as often as possible to show that he cares. But what do we do with him? We can 't walk him through an operating plant because most of them are down. And how can we have an incumbent President seek votes on unemployment lines?"

Many Now Hampshire Republicans believe that Bush owes them his presidency. Bush's counter form-belind victory over Senator Robert Dole in the 1988 primary (due largely to a Sunnau directed distortion of Dole's record) revived the President's faltering campaign. "Thank you, New Hampshire," and Bush after he won the presidency. "In over forget," As a result, says Senator Dupont, "a lot of New Hampshire, and Bush But what has id done for new." "The monore—a single word heard from many New Hampshire Republicans the days and the state of the state of

"I'm Jewish. It's Christmas. Things could be better."



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AMERICAN NOTES



Hold the **Wedding Bells**

POPULATION

An old saw says that "first comes love, then comes marriage, then comes pushing a baby carriage," but that idea appears to be out of style. According to a new Census Bureau report, fewer and fewer single women who become pregnant with their first child get married before the baby is

Analysts say the increase in out-of-wedlock births results in part from greater social acceptance of single motherhood. But other studies cite more dismaving factors: a shortage of men who earn enough to support a family and the high divorce rate. Many unwed mothers, says the Census Bureau. have come to believe that "they may be better off in the long run by relying more on the support of their parents and relatives ... than by entering a potentially unstable marriage." But there is another problem: almost half of female-headed households live in poverty. compared with 8% of two-par-

ent families

SCANDALS

Unhappy Birthday to You

Financier Charles Keating's 68th birthday was not an occasion for celebration. Instead, a statecourt jury in Los Angeles found the former head of California's Lincoln Savings & Loan, whose company sold \$250 million in junk bonds to unwitting investors as it headed toward insolvency, guilty of 17 counts of securities fraud. Keating, whose \$1.4 million in political contributions entangled five U.S. Senators in the S&L scandal, faces 10 years in prison and a \$250,000 fine. Last month the Senate reprimanded California Senator Alan Cranston for soliciting contributions from Keating while he was ureing federal regulators to go casy on Keating's S&L

quate methods to distinguish

Haitians who are genuine polit-

ical refugees from economic

migrants who are not eligible

for asylum. Attorneys for the

Haitians found that INS officers

had insufficient knowledge of

the grounds for asylum and

knew virtually nothing about

political conditions in Haiti.

The government has been given

a week to draw up new proce-

dures. Meanwhile, the sea-

Other troubles await Keating. He is the subject of a federal grand-jury probe of securities violations, a racketeering suit by the federal Resolution Trust Corporation and a civil suit by former Lincoln investors. His next birthday could find him back in court-or behind bars



Kenting: More troubles sheed

REFUGEES Reprieve for

on foreible repatriation of the The Haitians boat people. Since September. when the military ousted Haiti's Dancing and waving signs, hunfirst democratically elected dreds of Haitian immigrants President Jean-Bertrand Aristook to the streets of Miami to tide, the U.S. Coast Guard has celebrate a victory for their countrymen last week. Rejecting the government's argument that it should be allowed to ship namo Bay, Cuba, back to Haiti the refugees who Atkins ruled that the U.S. have tried to reach Florida in

intercepted 6.442 Haitians. Most are now living in camps at the U.S. Naval Base at Guantá-

months, U.S. District Judge C.

Clyde Atkins extended his ban

Immigration and Naturaliza-

THE HOMELESS Gimme Shelter

Vernon Lamarr Clark walked into a San Diego bank two months ago determined to get in trouble. The would-be thief. who was unarmed, handed the nearest teller a note announcing a bank robbery and asking for cash. After receiving \$40, Clark told a security guard to call the police and patiently waited to be arrested.

An unemployed iron worker who has been homeless for a year. Clark says he pulled the bank job because he wanted to find shelter. "I was tired and fed up with sleeping on the streets and picking through Dumpsters for food," he says

Although a judge set his bail at only \$5,000. Clark is content to remain in a federal prison and receive three square meals a day until his Jan. 14 trial date. If he is convicted of robbery, he could be guaranteed a home for up to 20 years. Clark is not the first person in San Diego to be driven to poverty-related crime: earlier this year an impoverished senior citizen held up another bank for \$70 in order to buy medication for a heart condition.



Waiting for asylum: Haitian refugees at the tent city at Guantanamo Naval Base

PROLIFERATION

Soviet Nukes On the Loose

As the Kremlin's power shrivels, the West worries about who has control of the disintegrating superpower's vast atomic arsenal

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

he idea once seemed terrifying: tens of thousands of nuclear weapons of every size and range, all under the control of a dictator in Moscow who could order them launched at will. Now that seems like the good old days. The world gradually came to trust whoever ruled in the Kremlin to exereise caution lest a nuclear war annihilate the Soviet Union along with the rest of the planet. But suppose the arsenal was so split up that no one would even know who might be able to order the detonation of how much of it. It could happen soon, and there are no precedents for dealing with that prospect; never before has a nuclear superpower disintegrated.

The situation holds promise as well as threat. Four republics-Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belorussia-stand to inherit all the long-range strategic warheads and perhaps 90% of the factical weapons. The republics talk of dismantling many of these arms: Ukraine and Belorussia insist they eventually want no nukes whatsoever on their soil. But it is by no means certain that the republics can agree, among themselves and with what remains of Mikhail Gorbachev's Kremlin government, on any program for actually achieving those aims before the momentum of dissolution leads to far different results; bitter squabbles over who controls the strategic weapons and a possible leakage of tactical warheads into irresponsible hands.

Says Georgia Democrat Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee: "We are on the verge of either having the greatest destruction of nuclear weapons in the history of the world or the greatest profiferation of nuclear weapons, nuclear materials and the scientific knowhow to make these weapons." What most concerns many experts in Washington is that Presidem Bush has dalfield inexcusably in developing any strategy to use the potentially critical influence of the U.S. to push the republics in the right direction.

The task will not wait. The Dec. 1 referendum in which Ukrainians voted 9 to 1 to make their country a fully sovereign, independent nation-and in effect proclaimed the old Soviet Union dead-is bringing the problem to a head. In the wake of the vote, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoli Zlenko is reportedly proposing that the four nuclear republies set up a joint command over "the Soviet nuclear force"which might imply cutting Gorbachev out of the action entirely. It would also leave 1,300 tactical warheads in the hands of the other eight republies.

Though Zlenko might be grandstanding, other Ukrainian leaders are using the nukes as n kind of diplomatic weapon. If Western powers want to see destruction of the bombs and missiles in Ukraine-as called for by the START treaty and an exchange of pledges between Gorbachey and Bush on tactical arms-well then, the Ukrainians hint, the West will have to grant diplomatic recognition, find some way of adding Ukraine to the START treaty and negotiate any further reductions with Kiev as well as Moscow. All this will surely complicate

U.S. Senate hearings, beginning in late January, on ratification of the treaty.

A panoply of nukes from the Soviet arsenal: though control of ICBMs is fiercely disputed,

the big danger is sale or

seizure of some of the easily

movable tactical weapons

stiff resistance. The Soviet armed services. and specifically the Strategic Rocket Forces, are almost the only institution left in the country still operating under genuine central control. Eighteenth century Prussia, according to an old wisecrack, was not a country with an army but an army with a country. The Soviet Union today could almost be defined as an army without a country. Gorbachev and his generals will hardly be eager to see their control diluted. Before the referendum, in fact, the Soviet Defense Ministry pointedly told troops in Ukraine, including those controlling nuclear weapons, that whatever happened, they would remain under Moscow's command, not Kiev's.

Ukraine's demands are likely to meet

Russian President Boris Yeltsin, according to British diplomats, has already grabbed a share of control of strategic nuclear weapons. He supposedly has custody of the codes

for arming the war-



the old union's nuclear weapons be put under Russian authority alone. Ultraine objects—it wants warheads moved to Russia only for purposes of having them destroyed, and then only if the destruction is verified by international inspectors.

Western experts do not doubt the sincerity of Ukraine and the other republics in wanting to carry out massive nuclear disarmament-for the moment. Their fear is that minds might change in six months or so if no satisfactory arrangements for control can be worked out and if republic leaders become enamored of the diplomatic and political clout that possession of nukes confers. Ukraine and some other republics fear they will be unable to resist Russian domination if they turn over responsibility for any of their nuclear arsenal to Yeltsin's government. The danger would become greater still if military or right-wing coups overthrew the present Kremlin and republic leaders, as could happen if winter food and fuel shortages touch off street riots. Talk of just such a coup is rampant these days in Moscow.

> Even then, Secretary of Defense Dick Chency judges "remote" the likelihood of inter

continental ballistic missiles coming under the thumb of anyone who would fire them at the U.S. The real menace, most experts believe, is a breakdown of the command structure that would put the easily mobile tactical weapons

into dangerous hands. These nukes—artillery shells, warheads on shortrange missiles, nuclear mines—are much easier to seize than ICBMS stored in underground silos. Already the southern republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan have

"nationalized" all military properyon their soil, prompting Moscow to announce that the army would shoot to repel any seizure. Nonetheless, local roit police in Azerbaijan have hijacked some army trucks full of ammunition. It is niconocivable that future raiders or army mutineers might grab some nukes.

In addition, economic chaos

has fostered a sell-anything-youcan-get-your-hands-on mentality in the Soviet military. It is only too possible that some commanders could peddle tactical nuclear arms to foreign governments or even tetrorist gangs. Even now, says Vladlen Sirottin, a Soviet historian and political columnist, "give me a million bucks, and I'll have a nuclear-tipped missile stolen for you and delivered anyplace you

Another threat is that some FOUR NEW MEMBERS Soviet atomic scientists and weapons designers, either already unemployed or about to lose their job, will sell their bomb-building skills to foreign countries eager to become nuclear powers, "Just half a dozen could make a crucial difference" to the weapons program of a Third World nation says Michael Dewar, deputy direc-1,690 tor of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies. 1,035 17,505

The White House last week dispatched Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Niles to

Ukraine to talk about nuclear weapons. Secretary of State James Baker will follow next week. But Niles was:instructed only to listen and not to broach any new American ideas. Congress voted just before Thankseigning to put up 5400 million to help the U.S.S.R. and its republics dismantle nuclear weapons, but the Administration has yet to plan how it will disburse that drop in the bucket.

Far more should be done, and urgently. The US and its allies could make recognition of Ukraine and other former Soviet republies, and distribution of budly needed economic aid, conditional on a prompt agreement to maintain effective control of nuclear weapons. The West should then offer to pay for, and send experts to supervise, the disabling of as many weapons as the republies want to shed. Great masses of warbends could quickly be rendered harmless by removing the control of the control of the control of And the key is to move immediately. The forces of dissolution in the former Soviet et Union are picking up

and the West must not be bulled by the fact that for the moment, the nuclear warheads remain under the hands of relatively responsible leaders like Gorbachev. Yeltsin and Ukrainian President Leonid avehuk. That could change all

artling momentum.

and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. That could change all too quickly—and disastrously. —Reported by James Carrey/Klev, William Mader/London and Bruce van Voorst/Washington

Either the greatest destruction of nuclear weapons in history—or the greatest proliferation

Who Else Will Have the Bomb?

It may soon be brandished by a whole new class of Third World regimes, thanks to China and other suppliers. The prospects for stopping them are not high. have yet found all the equipment and ma-

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

hatever happens to the nuclear weapons in the disintegrating Soviet Union, the old nightmare of uncontrolled atomic proliferation is moving measurably closer to reality-and it would not be dispelled even by an arrangement to destroy many of the Soviet nukes and keep the rest under responsible control. The Bomb may soon be brandished by a whole new class of countries-Third World regimes far more radical and unpredictable than any of the eight present members of the nuclear club.

In fact, it is already possible to set up a crude, if debatable, timetable. North Korea might have deliverable nuclear weapons sometime in late 1993, in five years at the outside. Iran could have the Bomb in six or seven years, and possibly so could Algeria, according to pessimistic Middle East experts. Optimists think the latter two might require 10 years or never manage to develop nukes at all. But there is at least a possibility that all three will be nucleararmed by the year 2000. Throw in the chances that Libya might be working on the Bomb-and Western experts believe it is-that China will continue its unrestrained sales of nuclear technology to the Middle East, and add to these cooperation among the nuclear wannabes, and the prospects get exceedingly scary.

To be sure, none of this is inevitable. It is conceivable that international pressure will cause some of the would-be nuclear powers to abandon their weapons programs, as Brazil, Argentina and South Africa appear to be doing. But that course is slow and uncertain: intelligence data on the suspects is inconclusive and open to sharp disagreement, not only about how far they are from developing usable weapons but even about how determinedly they are trying

That consideration is not necessarily reassuring. In 1990 experts were sure that Iraq would need five to 10 more years to develop a nuclear arsenal. United Nations inspectors have since concluded that when the gulf war began last January, Saddam Hussein was as little as a year away from being able to deliver a crude nuclear bomb. U.S. and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) analysts think the war brought Saddam's program to a rude halt But inspectors are not at all certain they

terial Irao may have hidden away, and thus that they have eliminated the chance that Baehdad might resume a bomb-building program if it can ever get out from under intrusive international surveillance. Analysts are haunted by the thought that they might be just as badly misreading the data

on other fledgling weapons programs. The U.S. is worried enough that in September it set up a special Nonproliferation Center at CIA headquarters, with 100 employeesmore than had been working on the issue throughout the government-to coordinate and intensify collection and analysis of intelligence.





Some of what Saddam Hussein got away with undetected: top, a structure that once housed am-enrichment devices known as calutrons; nuclear fuel uncovered by U.N. inspectors derground containers near Tuwaitha. A question haunting Western intelligence analysts: Might they be misreading some other nation's nuclear progress just as badly?

*Declared nuclear powers the U.S. Soviet Union Britain, France, China Undeclared but known: Israel

"Winning isn't everything.."

Yeah,

NASCAR

In NASCAR, the first race of the year is the biggest race of the year. The Daytona 500. Ernie Irvan's victory behind the wheel of his racebred Chevy Lumina set the tone for the year. Chevy drivers found the winner's circle so often that Chevy captured its ninth Manufacturer's Cup in a row. Special congratulations go out to Dale Earnhardt for becoming NASCARS Winston Cup Driver's Champion for the second vear in a row



Ernie Irvan, 1991 Daytona 500 winner.

OFF-ROAD

They call him "Lightning" Larry Ragland, and with a modified Chevy Sportside he struck with a vengeance, winning five of eight races to become SCORE/HDRA's Class 8 Champion, Both Clive Smith in a modified Chevy S-10 4x4 and Jack Flannery in a modifed Chevy 1/2-ton raced to the clouds, winning this year's Pikes Peak Hill Climb in record time. Jerry McDonald took four Class 7 (4x4) victories in his modified Chevy S-10. And Steve Kelley added three more in his modified full-

size Chevy 4x4.



Clive Smith wins the 1991 Pikes Peak hill climb.

You can't win

right.



Rick Mears, 1991 Indianapolis 500 Champion.

INDY-CAR

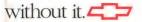
Rick Mears wins the Indianapolis 500 for the fourth time. So what else is new? This was the second time Chevy power got him there. The Chevypowered Indy V8 engine so dominates the Indy car circuit, it's compiled an incredible 33-0 record in the last two seasons. No wonder some of the top names in racing race with them. Guys with names like Mears, Unser, Rahal, Fittipakli, Luvendyk and three Andrettis Mario. John and Michael, winner of the PPG Cup Driver's Championship this year.



Scott Sharp lives on the edge, and with his modified Chevy Camaro he cut the competition to ribbons as they drove their way to this year's SCCA Trans-Am Manufacturer's Cup and Driver's Championships. Scott's victory in Mexico City marked Chevrolet's 100th victory in SCCA Trans-Am racing. Victories in Detroit, Watkins Glen. Ouebec and Road America make this a year to remember.



Scott Sharp, 1991 SCCA Trans-Am Driver's Champion.



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At Chevrolet, we learn a lot through racing Not just how to win at the tracks and off-road sites throughout the world, but how to help put winning technology on the streets. We learn from the on-board computers that regulate the phenomenal Chevy Indy V8 engine. We learn from the suspensions that guide our NASCAR guys through the super speeckways, oxals and bullrings. We learn from our specially modified racing trucks that endure no matter where they race. And its all this learning that's inspiring the kind of technology were putting into our cars and trucks to keep you winning for a long time to come.

JANUARY SCORE HDRA: Kelley and McDonald win at the Parker 400.

FEBRUARY NASCAR: Earnhardt wins Busch Clash, Busch Grand National, second leg of the Twin 125s, Richmond 400 Irvan wins Daytona 500.

MARCH NASCAR: Schrader wins in Atlanta.

CART: John Andretti wins in Australia.

SCORE HDRA: McDonald wins in Las Vegas.

APRIL NASCAR Rudd wins in Dartington. Darrell Waltrip wins at North Wilkesborn Earnhardt wins at Martinswille CARE Al Unser Je wins at Long Beach (50th victory for the Chevy Indy V8). Luyendyk wins in Plycenix, SCORE/HDRA. Rugdand wins in San Felipe. ASA: Allen wins in Columbus.

MAY NASCAR Earnhardt wins Busch Grand National at Charlotte Burton wins Busch Grand National in Virginia. 183C. Mears wins Indianapolis 500. SCAC TRANS-AM: Sharp wins in Mexico Cily Camarus' Solid win/Checys' Stoff win in Trans-Am). SCCA ESCORT WORLD CHALLENGE: Hendricks wins in Sonoma. ASA: Hansen wins in Indiana.

JUNE SASCAR: Schnader wins in Dower Waltrip
wins at Pocone Eurnhurth wins Bussch Grand National
in Charlotte CARE Michael Andretti wins in Milwaukee
and Portland. Pittipaldit wins Detroits Grand Prix.
SCYME LIDEA: Ragitand and MeDonaidd win at the
Baja 500 SCCA TRANS-AM: Sharp wins in Detroit
SCCA ESCORE WORLD CHALEFOGE RK. Smith wins
in Texas: IMNA GTP Taylor wins in New Orleans.
ASA, Waltrip wins in Nashwille. ARICA Kesckowski

wins at Pocono. Strait wins in Ohio.

JULY NASCAR Earnhardt wins at Talladega. CARE Michael Andretti wins in Cleveland and Tooronic Andrewa wins at the Meadewhards.
PIKES PEAK HILL CLAMB Clive Smith, Jack Flannery and David Donner all win with record times SCCA TRANS-AM. Robinson wins in Des Moines SCCA TRANS-AM. Robinson wins in Des Moines SCCA SECCRI WORLD CHALLENGE Hendricks wins in Des Moines ASC Moines ASC Senneker wins in Calgary Wisconsin. Michigan and Missouri. ARCA: Glotzbach wins at Talladedear.

AUGUST NASCAR Irvan wins at Watkins Glen. CART Means wins in Michigan. Unser Je wins in Derner. SCORE/HDRA. Rughand wins in Lus Wegas. SCAC TRANS-AM: Sharp wins at Watkins Glen and Quebec. SCAC SECORT WORLD CHALLENGE Corvette wins 24-Hour Findurance Race in Ontaria ASN: Hansen wins in Indiana. ARCA: Schnafer wins in Kander wins in Indiana. ARCA: Schnafer wins in Kander.

SEPTEMBER NASCAR: Earnhardt wins at North Willsesboro and Busch Grand National in Darlington. CARE Michael Andretti wins in Vancouver, Mid Ohio and Elkhart Lake. SCORE-HIDAE: Flannery Kelley and McDonald all win in Willow Springs. SCCA TRANS-AM: Sharp wins in Ontario and Elkhart Lake. Sharp clinches Drivier's Championship and Manufacturer's Cup for Cheerolet. ASA: Trickle wins in St. Paul. Hansen wins in Cowaga, NY. ARCA: Stratt wins in Illinois. Venturint's Texas win clinches Manufacturer's Championship for Cheerolet.

OCTOBER NASCAR: Craven wins Busch Grand National in New Hampshire CARE Luyendyk wins in Nazareth. Michael Andretti wins at Laguna. Seca. Andretti wins 1PHG CHap Drivey's Champfonship SCORE/FIDREX Ragland wins in Itas Vegas SCCA TRANN-AM. Bakhwin wins in Texas ASA: Allen wins in Indiana Hamsen wins in Texas

NOVEMBER NASCAR. Cheey mals its ninth Manufactures' Cup in a row in Aldanta. Eurobardt clinches his second Driver's Championship in a row. SCORE HIRA: Ragland and Kelky win a the biga lobolity Ragland divolece Class & Driver's Championship. Ragland wins Heavy Metal Championship. ARCA Tenturia captures Driver's Championship.

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You can't win without it.

A rundown on what U.S. and allied intelligence sources already know or suspect:

NORTH KOREA. Satellite pletures show that in 1987 the country completed a 3th We reactor. That is too big for research-such reactors generally run 10 MW or less—and too small for electric-power production, which generally requires a reactor producing 200 MW or more. Besides, the satellite pictures show no electric generators or power lines alongside the reactor are constructions or power lines alongside the reactor are period of the process of producing places of the producing the process of producing places of the places of the producing places of the places of t

analysts think it will come on stream next year. A plutonium-reprocessing plant also is nearing completion. Fuel, of course, is not enough to make a weapon; it must then be shaped into an explosive device. A recent defector says North Korea has built an underground nuclear weapons design or research facility to construct deliverable bombs. They can be dropped from airplanes; but if the aggressor has only a few bombs and the potential victim has any kind of air defense, the bombers could easily be shot down before hitting their target. Missile warheads are the preferred method for delivering a devastating blow-and North Korea produces missiles that can carry nukes, not just for its own use but also for export. As part of the round robin among the secret developers. North Korea early this year sold to Syria (which may have a fledgling nuclear-weapons program of its own) a batch of Scuds: they carry bigger warheads than the missiles Saddam Hussein launched against Israel and Saudi Arabia

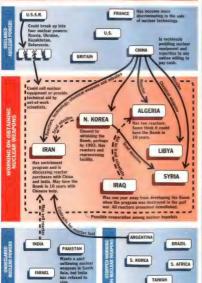
Altogether, the evidence seems convincing that North Korea is closer to developing usable nuclear weapons than any other country that does not already have them. Nor will the West necessarily know when North Korea, or any other country, has successfully built any weapons. In days of old, the telltale sign was a test blast. But now, says Daniel Leshem, an Israeli proliferation expert at Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, computer simulation would enable a nuclear newcomer to be "quite confident the Bomb will be effective when needed" without actually detonating one.

IRAN. Facing stalemate or defeat in the war with Irang. Ayatullah Rubollah Khomeini in 1987 perisonally authorized a full-scale renewal of a nuclear-homb program that the Shah had begun. The program has surviced both the end of the Iran-Iraq war and Khomeini's death; Tehran hardly even bothers to hide its intentions amymore. On Oct. 25. Sayed. Ataollah Mohajerani, an Iranian Vice President, told an Islamic conference in Tehran, "Since Israel con-tinues to possess nuclear weapons, we, the Muslims, must cooperate to produce an atom bomb, regardless of UN. Attempts to

prevent proliferation. Ironically, Iran's program resembles that of its archfoe, Saddam Hussein. Like Iraq, Iran is carrying on its bomb program in small facilities, allegedly for peaceful research, that until recently escaped international attention. Also like Saddam, according to the most detailed accounts from nearby intelligence sources, Iran is trying a number of different methods to produce bomb fuel, which is strictly controlled on the world market. It has agreed to buy a small plutonium-producing reactor from China and is negotiating another such deal with India. At the same time, it is experimenting with three processes, including a highly sophisticated laser technique for enriching uranium to weapons grade (U-235, the readily fissionable isotope, constitutes less than 1% of freshly mined uranium: that must be increased to at least 80% for explosive purposes). Iran already has one enrichment plant, thought to employ the centrifuge method, at Mualem Kilava, and may have another in Karaj, north of Tehran. It bought a calutron, which also enriches uranium, from the Chinese, but has not yet installed the device.

OUS, analysts think Tehran would need at least a decade to wield the Bomb, even assuming all-out help from China. "China has taken over from France as the world's greatest proliferator of nuclear technollogy," says Kenneth Timmerman, author of

SCRAMBLE FOR THE BOMB



a book on the Iraqi nuclear program. Beijing is recklessly peddling nuclear equipment and expertise to just about any nation willing and able to pay cash. If China can be persuaded or coerced to cut back, American intelligence officials believe, Iran will not be able to develop an explosible bomb in the foreseeable future.

But some Middle East experts take a adurker view. They hear reports that in addition to help from China. Iran is getting "hot cells"—heavily shielded compartments in which highly radioactive material can be handled by remote control—from Argentina. And though American experts believe Tehran's Chinesse culturon will produce medient lostopes, tran mighl be able to modify the sources proce, and bigger, culturons to turn out bomb feel. In the pessionset

power lines or electrical generating equipment at the site.

Outside experts are still unsure what the size of the reactor is. The argument about what Algeria is up to may not be settled even if the country signs the 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) and opens its facilities to inspection by the IAEA. It might, for example, show the inspectors a reactor that really did have only a 15-MW capacity-but could be fairly quickly expanded to 50-60 MW. In any case, what worries Western officials is not just that Algeria may develop a bomb for itself but that it may be helping others build nuclear weapons faster. U.S. intelligence has picked up rumors that some Iraqi nuclear scientists are working in Algeria and that Baghdad has provided Algiers with hard-to-get nuclear technology.

tiers with hard-to-get nuclear technology.

The prospect that such cooperation

making A-bombs, there is no provision in the NPT for any penalties against the offender: the matter would go to the U.N. Security Council.

The essential question is whether the U.S. and its friends can put enough pressure on the suspected bomb builders and suppliers to get them to stop. Prospects are not entirely dim. Japan, for instance, has warned North Korea that it will not get any of the Japanese trade and investment its nose-diving economy desperately needs until it drops its nuclear-weapons program. North Korea has promised to open up to IAEA inspection if a companion inspection proves there are no American nuclear weapons in South Korea. If North Korea does allow inspections, U.S. officials have evidence that they believe will force the IAEA to demand to see all of Pyongyang's major nuclear facilities-but that still would not guarantee that bomb building

would end. U.S. and British efforts to persuade China to stop its promiscuous peddling of nuclear assistance have so far hit a brick wall. When Secretary of State James Baker visited Beijing last month, China promised to at last sign the nonproliferation treaty before April 1992. Yet it has refused to promise that it will stop anything it is now doing. But some U.S. politicians think a credible threat by Washington to do away with favorable tariff treatment for Chinese goods might be effective. The theory is that China would lose more money because of lower exports to the U.S. than it would gain through further nuclear sales. Democratic Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware goes so far as to say that "we must, in extremis, be prepared to use force to stop dangerous dictators from obtaining nuclear weapons"-which apparently means bombing North Korea if all else fails.

That may be extreme, but all other measures are fully justified. Until recently, nonproliferation efforts achieved considerable success. Membership in the nuclear club has held steady for about a decade (Pakistan entered but South Africa dropped out); such nations as Taiwan and South Korea, in addition to Brazil and Argentina, ended once flourishing nuclear programs; France, Germany and Argentina became much more discriminating in the kind of nuclear technology they would approve for sale and to whom. But all this progress could be easily reversed. The thought of North Korea's Stalinist regime brandishing atom bombs, for instance, could easily frighten Japan and South Korea into developing their own nukes. It would be a terrible irony if the early 21st century revived a dread that the end of the cold war in the 20th had seemed to put to rest: the fear that almost any local or regional conflict could set off an escalating nuclear war

Reported by Ron Ben-Yishal/Jerusalem, Farah Nayeri/Paris and Jay Peterzell/Washington

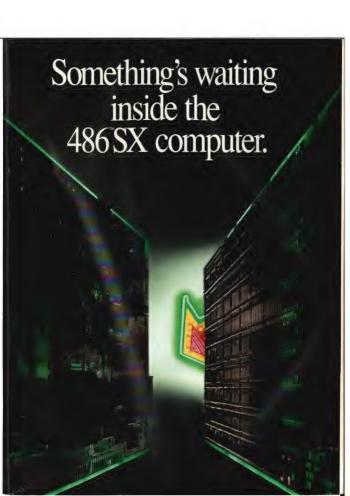


A satellite photo shows suspect North Korean nuclear facilities

view. Tehran could be producing nuclear weapons in six or seven years.

ALGERIA. When Algeria signed a contract three years ago to have China build a 15-MW reactor, U.S. analysts showed little concern. They thought it would be, as advertised, a research facility. But early this year, U.S. satellites snotted antiaircraft defenses that had mystifyingly been set up in the middle of the Algerian desert. A closer look turned up signs of construction of a nearly complete nuclear reactor; vegetation planted around it in a characteristically Chinese pattern provided a strong clue as to who was building it. From the size of the cooling towers, the reactor appeared to be of 50-to-60-MW capacity. Experts such as Leonard Spector of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace say a reactor that size has only one function: to produce plutonium for bomb fuel. Also, as in the case of North Korea, there were no will broaden into a nuclear mutual-aid society haunts Israeli experts in particular. Leshem believes that "an international Matia aimed at getting the Bomb for every member" aireaty exists and is swapping technology and training. The buyers would include Iran. Algeria and to some extent Libya. China is the leading seller, and North Korea is playing both roles.

So far U.S. and allide efforts to contain proliferation have foreused heavily on getting nations to open their facilities to inspection by the IAAA But Irrafy success in reaching the brink of nuclear-weapons while allowing laAA inspectors to whit its few declared facilities has demonstrated the furtility of HAA. The agency has a theoretical right to poke into suspected but unadmitted nuclear installations but has never exercised it. Even if the agency did-and the account of the control of the con

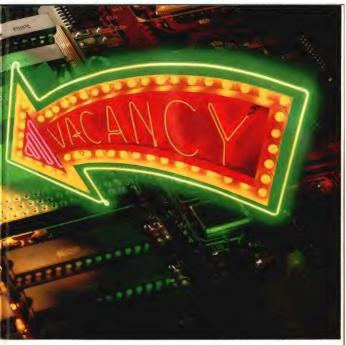




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America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

How Bush Has Wimped Out

n 1968, when the U.S. was sinking into the quagmire of Vietnam, Robert McNamara resigned as Secretary of Defense and became president of the World Bank. Having retreated from the war against communism, he threw himself into the struggle against another enemy, which has turned out to be more robust and insidious: human misery so extreme and extensive that it can spread across borders in the form of marauding armies or refugees fleeing hunger and chaos.

As McNamara quickly realized, the poorest countries were all but beyond help if their citizens brought babies into the world at a rate that defied the ability of society to make life worth living. In his inaugural speech after coming to the bank, he identified overnopulation as "one of the greatest barriers to economic growth and social well being." That was 23 years

ago. There were 3.4 billion people on the planet.

Five years later, the U.S. representative to the United Nations, an enlightened and conscientious fellow named George Bush, wrote that "success in the population field" might "determine whether we can resolve successfully the other great questions of peace, prosperity and individual rights that face the world," By then, there were an additional half a billion mouths to feed. Most of the increase had occurred in countries like Bangladesh, Egypt, Kenya and Nicaragua, with annual growth rates of around 3%, which means the population doubles every 23

Now, with the world head count at 5.4 billion. McNamara, 75, has returned to the subject of the population explosion with a vengeance. Bush, by contrast-even though he is in a position to do much more good than a private citizen like McNamarahas wimped out in spectacular fashion,

In a paper imposingly titled "A Global Population Policy to Advance Human Development in the 21st Century," to be issued this week by the U.N., McNamara estimates that a billion people are living in what he calls "absolute poverty," their lives "so character-

ized by malnutrition, illiteracy and disease as to be beneath any reasonable definition of human dignity," and that 40,000 children die each day. Yet he argues that the statistics, depressing as they are in many ways, still offer some grounds for

hope-and a major incentive for action.

Our species was on the earth a million years before it numbered I billion. That was in 1800. It took only 130 years to reach the second billion, 30 years to reach the third, 15 the fourth, 12 the fifth. The good news is that a graph of this exponential growth projected into the future forms an S curve, taking off slowly, then rising sharply, but eventually flattening out. Fertility rates-the average number of children per woman-have declined dramatically. In part that is because of severe limits on family size in the most populous country, China. but it is also due to the worldwide promotion of birth control by the U.N. and private organizations like the International Planned Parenthood Foundation.

The trouble is, even if fertility rates in the Third World dropped immediately from around 4 births per woman to the "replacement level" of 2 (a baby to replace each parent), the population would still climb to more than 8 billion sometime in the middle of the next century. That is because the vast numbers of females born on the steepest part of the S curve in the '50s and '60s have generated "demographic momentum,

a boom in childbearing that will last for some time to come. How big that baby boom is and how long it lasts will depend on what happens to fertility rates during the decade ahead. Jessica Mathews, vice president of the World Resources Institute, illustrates the point neatly: "A young woman today who bears three children instead of the six her mother may have borne will have 27 great-grandchildren instead of 216." If enough women follow that example-which means, above all, practicing contraception-the world's population may eventually stabilize at around 10 billion, rather than the 15 billion some demographers predict. A human race twice as numerous as it is now might be able to feed itself and avoid di-



Starving Ethiopians: a "pro-life" policy with deadly consequences

sastrous social, political and environmental consequences. However, at three times today's level, there would be far greater risk of a Malthusian cataclysm.

MeNamara concludes by recommending that the U.N. help developing countries establish step-by-step, long-range programs, financed with the assistance of the World Bank, for coming as close as possible to zero population growth.

The U.S. should take the lead in this campaign, but it probably won't as long as Bush has anything to say about it. He cravenly repudiated his earlier championship of serious family planning when he went to work for Ronald Reagan. As President. Bush has kept in place his predecessor's withdrawal of U.S. payments to the U.N. Fund for Population Activities and International Planned Parenthood on the specious grounds that they support abortion.

Bush continues to pay lip service to this canard out of fear of Republican right-wingers who claim to be "pro-life." In its implications for the slums and villages of the Third World, that slogan disguises a policy that is pro-death. Bush, who hopes that his standing as an international leader will help him next year, says his position has "evolved" after much "soulsearching." Soul-selling is more like it.

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AMERICA'S QUALITY



WORLD NOTES



idow Hoxha: Should she face trial?

ALBANIA

A Setback for The Old Guard

Despite their landslide victory in Albania's first free elections last spring, the old communist rulers have had trouble holding on to power as the wave of reform sweeps over Europe's poorest and most isolated country. Reincarnated as the Socialist Party, they were

MEXICO Why Did They Open Fire?

The army claimed it was a tragic accident. On Nov. 7 a planeload of narcotics agents from the Mexican Attorney General's office landed at a clandestine airstrip in hot pursuit of a plane from Colombia that stopped to refuel-and turned out to contain more than 814 lbs. of cocaine. When the Mexican narcs emerged, more than 100 soldiers already on the ground opened fire, killing seven of the agents.

Although the military claimed that the agents had been mistaken for drug smugglers, mounting evidence indicated that the soldiers were at the airstrip not to capture the smugglers-both of

forced by a rash of strikes to enter into a coalition with the opposition Democratic Party in June. Last week Democratic leader Sali Berisha charged his governing partners with "attempting to create a neodictatorship" and pulled his seven ministers out of the 21-member Cabinet.

In a further sign of communist disarray, the widow of Enver Hoxha, the Stalinist who founded and presided over the original dictatorship for 41 years, was arrested on charges

of corruption. Although bringing to book Nexhmije Hoxha, a powerful figure in her own right, was high on the opposition's agenda, the arrest came too late to keep the government together as the Democrats demanded that elections be held as early as next month. Given the social unrest exacerbated by drastic economic reforms, the Democrats are confident that this time they will oust the communists once and for all.

whom escaped-but to protect

Last week an investigation by Mexico's National Commission on Human Rights, aided by videotapes of the scene taken by U.S. Customs agents flying overhead, concluded that the local regional commander. General Alfredo Morán Acevedo, bore the major responsibility for the deaths. Arriving at the scene with reinforcements, after receiving at least two telephone warnings that his men were shooting at drug agents, he continued the attack. Although the report charged that Morán, his four top assistants and 14 soldiers had violated both military and civilian regulations and should be investigated by the defense ministry, it stopped short of accusing the army of drug trafficking.

POLAND.

Reluctant Choice

For almost six weeks after the parliamentary elections in October, President Lech Walesa looked for another way out. Then last week he grudgingly acquiesced to the will of the dominant center-right coalition in the lower house and named Jan Olszewski, 61, a lawyer with a long history of defending dissidents to Communist rule, to the post of Prime Minister.

Walesa moved reluctantly because Olszewski favors softening the radical anti-inflation policies that have been hailed abroad for pushing Poland into a market economy but are despised at home for causing 10% unemployment and threatening the survival of hundreds of state-owned busi-

nesses. Figuring that Poland had



The new Prime Minister

to bear economic pain in any case. Walesa has generally supported moving to a free market as quickly as possible. The choice may have been an effort to garner the center-right's support for laws to strengthen presidential powers, including more say in naming the Cabinet.



No Apology Necessary

The immense wave of attention the U.S. has been devoting to the 50th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor has made Japan nervous. Using language more specific than usual, Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe told the Washington Post, "We feel a deep remorse about the unbearable suffering and sorrow Japan inflicted on the American people and the peo-

ples of Asia. The surprise attack and the war in the Pacific, he added, re-

sulted from "the reckless decision of our military." It was a particularly direct statement that went beyond the usual bland formula used by Japanese

Watanabe said his country is not seeking "any kind of apology" from the U.S. for dropping atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But his views were not shared by conservatives in his own ruling party. They blocked a resolution in the Diet that would have apologized for the war because they were offended by President Bush's statement that the U.S. has no reason to apologize for using the bombs.

SCANDAL

Maxwell's Plummet

Burdened by huge, previously unreported debts, the media mogul's empire breaks apart amid tales of skulduggery, real and imagined

By THOMAS MC CARROLL

ver since Robert Maxwell slipped mysteriously into the Atlantic Ocean last month, his media empire has been rapidly crumbling. While Maxwell's sons Kevin and Ian secrambled to prevent the configurate's collapse, creditors in half a dozen countries have been busy sorting out the tangled web of 400 interlocking companies that were woven together by the last tycoon.

But efforts to rescue the family business suffered one setback after another in recent weeks, including stunning revelations of possible fraud and double-dealing.

Unable to keep the conglomerate, parts of which are publically traded, from unraveling. Maxwell's sons called it quits last week and put the family's privately held enterprises into receivership. Although the filing will buy the family time, it will do little to end the international row over Maxwell's assets. The Maxwell empire, which ranges from such highly visible publications as New York City's Daily News and London's Daily Mirror to tiny entities like Nimbus Records, is the subject of investigations on both sides of the Atlantic, notably a criminal probe by Britain's Serious Fraud Office (SFO). About 30 banks and other creditors are lining up in what prom-

TOTAL DEBT disclosed at time of death: \$4.5 billion (principal death): \$7.1 billion (principal

Robert Maxwell Group



Mirror Group Newspapers

Berliner Verlag (German newspaper pul Magyar Hirtap (Hungarian newspaper) Ma'ariy (Iscaeli newspaper)

AND STAKES IN-



Lending banks

The fall of Mannell's empire will most likely result in a glant five axis. Should properly also fall short of covering the massive debt, banks will unload the companies' renaining tosus at steep discount. Banks already hold 12% of the shares in Mannell Communication and 3.5% of the stock in literor Group Newspapers as collateral. The banks' title to the shares, however, in being disputed by the pension fundament.

ises to be a bruising humbug. Says Smith Barney analyst John Reidy: "Robert Maxwell left behind mysteries that may never be solved and a big, big mess that may never get unsnarled."

sections and seep in hock and struging to keep his configurent earlies and in the months before his death. The Czechosicwick-born press haron, who embraced socialism in the 1964s as a Member of Parliament, had run up 43.5 billion in debts to buy everything from American book publishers to British soece teams to Israeli and German newspapers. But even before Amazeell was interred; reports of financial skulduggery in his shop began to surface. First stame the starting revolution that the company was broke. Then came the disserting the company was broke. Then came the dis-

The most explosive bombshell came last week, when it was revealed that the media magnate had secretly—and improperly—"borrowed" 5767 million from worker pension funds at the two public concerns under his control. The money is missing and unaccounted for. This most unsocialist of acts prompted the Minor's concerns are archives. Rogert Munched Advis edition asking checkly. MIRKON day's edition asking checkly. MIRKON

MIRROR ON THE WALL, WHO IS THE BIG-GEST CROOK OF ALL?

The latest revolutions revived speculation linking Masswell's death to the dire innancial condition of his media empire. Although the preliminary autops report claimed the 300-10. Seyear-old died of ratural casses, "the exact circumstances well's Mirror reported in its Thursday exist well's Mirror reported in its Thursday exist in that at the time of his death the magnate was under increasing pressure to meet debt obligation. But while the events leading up to his demise remain obscure, one was more financial littles on that readily.

The Maxwell family's conglomerate is loosely organized into three clusters. The two publicly listed companies include the two publicly listed companies include the Mirror Group, which publishes the Daily Record, the Sundan Mail and Recing Times, as well as the Mirror newspapers. The flag-slip company, Maxwell Communication, controls such concerns as Macmilla books, the Official Afrilian Guides and P.E. Collier encyclopedies. The Robert Maxwell Group Control of the Company, Maxwell Consultation of the Communication of the Communi

But all three holding companies are also directly and indirectly linked to dozens of other family-controlled enterprises. Maxwell's creditors were unaware of the nature of the corporate structure because the man whose wealth was estimated at \$1.8 billion incorporated family trusts in Liechtenstein, where tax laws and disclosure rules are virtually nonexistent. Not even Maxwell family members were aware of the web's scope. Said son Kevin, 32, who succeeded his father as chairman of Maxwell Communication until he stepped down last week: "Clearly we didn't know everything, and clearly he had a style of business where probably you had a need to know rather than a sharing of information all the time."

s a result, the senior Maxwell was able to pile debt upon debt with no one, apparently, the wiser. His purchase of a British investment fund, First Tokyo Index Trust, illustrates how Maxwell used financial sleight of hand and guile to finance deals. Through Headington Investments, a finance company under his control, Maxwell borrowed \$100 million from Swiss Bank Corp. last summer to buy the entire First Tokyo portfolio. Maxwell was supposed to turn over the portfolio to Swiss Bank in October as collateral for the loan, But Maxwell did not repay the loan, nor did he deliver the securities as promised. Meanwhile, he had already pledged the assets as collateral for loans made to another Maxwell company. The deal is being investigated by British law-enforcement authorities.

Swiss Bank wasn't alone. Dozens of banks were left holding the bag, Among those with the heaviest exposure: Midland, Lloyds, National Westminister, Barelay's, Sumitomo Trust, Crédit Lyonnais, Cititorp and Bankers Trust. White most banks were plain old guillible, some claim that they were dupled. "We weren't wearing they were dupled." We weren't wearing we should start asking borrowers to take lie-detecter tests."

Mentab before Maswell vanished from his BleH, spath, there was a growing fear that he was having trouble meeting his repyment schedule. With the American European economies starting to sour. Masell was faced with declining cosh flow and debilitating debt payments. Despite his ending financial conditions. however, he recording financial conditions. however, he recording financial conditions. however, he European accountants Coopers & Jaymen Debitter. That enabled Maswell to band on more debt in March when he purchased the Duly News from the Tirbure Co. by assum-

ing as much as \$35 million in obligations.
As concerns about Maxwell's financial strength mounted, stock in Maxwell Communication weakened. After reaching a

Troubled legacy: Robert Maxwell left his sons lan and Kevin the burden of sorting out the ruins of his media empire



TIME, DECEMBER 16, 1991

high of \$4.28 a share in April, the price plunged to \$2.18 by Nov. 5. the day he disappeared. By the time trading in the shares was suspended last week, the price had dropped to \$0.63. The decline in stock value was of special concern to Maxwell's creditors, since most of the family's 68% stake in the company was pledged as collateral for loans. That stake, valued at nearly \$2 billion in May, is now worth only \$440 million.

Maxwell did recognize that some assets would have to be sold to help pay off debt. His sons, including Ian, 35, have attempted to pursue that policy. So far, they have been able to raise more than \$700 million by selling such assets as Macmillan Computer Publishing for \$158 million and Berlitz International for \$265 million. But with the deal market in a slump, there have been few takers and even fewer good offers. To attract buyers, the Maxwells have practically had to conduct a fire sale, selling assets for only a fraction of their worth. The Official Airline Guides has been on the auction block for months, for instance, but its likely buyer, Britain's Reed International. will probably not pay more than \$500 million. Maxwell paid \$750 million for the guide three years ago. Now even some of the deals thought to have been completed are in doubt. Last week company executives reported with some embarrassment that they were unable to locate stock certificates for Berlitz International that are integral to the completion of the sale of that firm to Fukutake Publishing of Japan.

While the Maxwells managed, by hook or by crook, to raise enough | ministrator appointed by the High Court | to meet a \$750 million payment due in October 1992, they conceded they would be unable to meet a \$1.3 billion obligation due in October 1994, Unsatisfied creditors, however, may be able to go after the Maxwell family fortune. According to a leaked report by Bankers Trust and Coopers & Lybrand, Maxwell assets are estimated to exceed liabilities by about \$350 million.

For now, though, it will be up to the courts to sort out the mess. The Maxwells acted to place the private company, the Robert Maxwell Group, into receivership after all attempts to raise fresh outside capital proved hopeless. John Talbot, the ad-

Was It Suicide?

R obert Maxwell may be resting in peace in an Israeli comedie down. Spanish investigators contend that Maxwell suffered a heart attack, but last week's revelations that \$767 million mysteriously disappeared from a pair of Maxwell operations during the months leading up to his death have revived the speculation. There are three schools of tabloid-style musings:

MAXWELL KILLED HIMSELF! One version holds that Maxwell took his life knowing the financial dam was about to burst. The Daily Express in London reports that Maxwell seemed agitated and depressed during his "last supper." A variation is that he was suffering from a fatal disease, supported in one tabloid by Spanish doctors.

MAXWELL'S ALIVE! The Sun, a British tabloid, suggests that he might be hiding in South America while some other large chap rests in Jerusalem's Mount of Olives. The Guardian states, "The Spanish authorities have no evidence other than the word of his family that the body pulled from the sea . . . was that of Mr. Maxwell "

MAXWELL WAS KILLED! A rumor among cynical Israeli journalists is that Maxwell was an agent for the Mossad, Israel's sny agency. Thus Israel's enemies rubbed him out. Or was it that the Mossad executed Captain Bob to prevent him from exposing secrets? Or did he launder millions from secret arms sales to Iran and get killed "to shut him up." Then there's the one that Maxwell was hammered by New York Mafia hit men angry about layoffs at the Daily News. Or maybe .



Maxwell's family gathered at the funeral in Jerusalem last month

last week to oversee the family's private holdings, said Maxwell's remaining assets were likely to be put up for sale. That includes the Maxwells' stock in Maxwell Communication as well as their 51% stake in the Mirror Group.

It could also include the Daily News. But that is not entirely certain. Only hours after the Maxwells declared insolvency, the New York City publication filed its own petition for bankruptcy in the U.S. in an effort to thwart any possible sale of the paper by the British administrator. In their determination to keep the paper open. Daily News unions expressed a willingness to make wage and other concessions. The paper was financially crippled earlier this year by a five-month strike that cost \$1 million a day and that ended only after Robert Maxwell bought the paper in March. The News still remains unprofitable, perhaps prohibitively so. In a meeting with Daily News staff last Thursday, Kevin Maxwell vowed to continue publication: "There is absolutely no question that the News will come out." However, it remains unclear whether Maxwell can prevent the paper from being sacrificed to pay debts. Several potential buyers, including Mortimer Zuckerman, owner of U.S. News & World Report, have already

expressed interest. On the other side of the Atlantic, workers at the Daily Mirror expressed dismay and anger after it was revealed that Captain Bob. as the swashbuckling Maxwell was dubbed years ago by the British humor magazine Private Eye, had looted their pension fund and treasury in order to prop up his personal fiefdom. The transactions which took place in the months before he died, are being probed by British authorities. Last Friday SFO agents raided the family headquarters at Maxwell House in search of documents relating to the missing pension funds. Still, bemoans Ossie Fletcher, the former editor of the Mirror Group's Sporting Life, "we always assumed that the pension fund was untouchable

Not everyone shared Fletcher's now shattered faith in Captain Bob's empire and the media mogul's fitness as a manager. Two decades ago, British

regulators investigating his 1969 attempt to sell Pergamon Press concluded in a report that the murky relationships among Maxwell's privately held businesses made him specifically unfit "to exercise proper stewardship of a publicly quoted company. A principal author of that report. Sir Ronald Leach, now 84, said last week, "If anybody had taken the time and trouble to read and take notice of our report, they would have seen that what has been happening recently was happening 20 years ago." The final collapse of his empire suggests that Maxwell was less a media mogul than a master of a shell game. - With reporting by Anne Constable/London and Adam Zagorin/Brussels

How to raise a child on \$12 a month

Here in America \$12 a month will not even pay for school lunches. But overseas, \$12 will work a miracle. For example, please take a close look at little Larni.

Twelve dollars a month can change her life forever...
...a life spent in a wooden shack, built on stilts, over a
disease-infested swamp. And at night she gets a bowl of

Her only toys are a worn-out teddy bear and a ragged doll. Her secondhand dress is patched and too small for the Sheeperalely needless better diet to build strong the secondhand dress is patched and too small for the Sheeperalely needless better diet to build strong the secondhand dress is patched and too small for the Sheeperalely needless better diet to build strong the secondhand dress is patched and too small for the Sheeperalely needless better diet to build strong the secondhand dress is patched and too small for the secondhand dress

doll. Her secondhand dress is patched and too small for her. She desperately needs a better diet to build strong bones, medicine when she is sick, water that is not contaminated, and a chance to go to school. And all this can happen for only \$12 a month!

And all this can happen for only \$12 a month! Will you help raise a child like Larni?

This is a full sponsorship program—designed for Americans who are unable to send \$20, \$21, or even \$22 a month to other sponsorship organizations.

Here's what you will receive: • a 3 1/2" x 5" photograph of the child you are

- helping.

 two personal letters from your child each year.
- a complete Sponsorship Kit with your child's case history and a special report about the country where your child lives.
- regular issues of "Sponsorship News."

 And if you wish, you can send the child you are helping special birthday and Christmas cards.

All this for only \$12 a month? Yes, because we work hard to reduce the cost without

reducing the help that goes to the child you sponsor. Your \$12 a month will provide so much:

- · emergency food, clothing and medical care.
- · a chance to attend school.
- help for the child's family and community with counseling on housing, agriculture, nutrition and other vital areas.

Will you help raise a child?

Here's how you can become a sponsor:

1. Fill out the coupon and tell us if you wish to sponsor a boy or girl and select the country of your choice.

2. Or better yet, just mark an "X" in the "Emergency List" box, and we will assign a child to you that most

urgently needs your love.

3. Mail the coupon and your first \$12 monthly payment to Children International.

And then in just a few days, you will receive your child's name, photograph and case history. And you will be on your way to an exciting adventure.

May we hear from you? We believe our sponsorship program protects the dignity of a child and family, and at the same time provides Americans with a positive and beautiful way to help a needy youngster.



At nightfall, Larni eats her bowl of rice and sleeps on a floor mat. She lives in a wooden shack, built on stilts, over a disease-infested swamp.

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	Var	Lucich	to mor	anne a	shild	Enclo	wad in	one Go	***

- Yes, I wish to sponsor a child. Enclosed is my first payment of \$12\$. Please assign me a □ Boy □ Girl Country preference: □ India □ The Phillippines □ Thailand □ Chile □ Honduras □ Dominican Republic □ Colombia

OR, choose a child who most needs my help from your EMERGENCY LIST.

NAME ____

ADDRESS ____

STATE ZIP

☐ Please send me more information about sponsoring a child.
☐ I can't sponsor a child now, but wish to make a

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A worldwide organization serving children since 1936. Financial report readily available upon request.

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But they do. And that's the challenge and the fun of photography. It's also why you need the first camera that thinks for itself.

Suppose you're watching cyclists race from light through shadow and back. The Maxxum 7xi will break from the pack with its ability to adjust for the most minute lighting changes.

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speed up, slow down or
take off in any direction,

Maxxum's unique Predictive Autofocus

will freeze them in perfect clarity. Only the 7 xi
can do it four times a second.

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cause Maxxum analyzes images a whole new way, photos are sharper and more precise than ever.

life easy because it thinks with the most powerful computer ever put behind a lens. It's the first computer which applies "fuzzy logic" to draw on the pre-programmed expertise of professional photographers.

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NEW MAXXUM 7xi

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Soyou'll be guided to the perfect, subtle decision even in the most complicated situation.

What more can an SLR do?
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Creative Expansion Cards

let you really exercise your ingenuity.

Yes, the Maxxum 7xi has ≡ new way of

Yes, the Maxxum 7xi has ≡ new way of thinking. But it's the results that will amaze you when you take it for a ride.



ORGANIZED CRIME

All That Glitters . . .

Stephen Saccoccia thought he could go on laundering hundreds of millions in drug money forever. He was wrong.

By RICHARD BEHAR

o the merchants who line the rough-and-tumble streets of New York City's diamond district, he is known as Steve "Yorakim"-Hebrew for green, the color of money But to prosecutors in Manhattan, as well as Miami. Atlanta. Los Angeles and Providence. Stephen Anthony Saccoccia is known as one of the country's biggest, savviest and most wanted money launderers for Colombia's drug cartels. That is, until shortly before Thanksgiving weekend, when hundreds of government agents mounted a simultaneous fivestate assault on Saccoccia's organization, arresting and indicting 50 people and seizing millions of dollars' worth of businesses, houses, cars and cash that had allegedly been used to wash as much as \$750 million in narcotics proceeds.

The smashing of Saccoccia's empire is actually the third major drug-money laundering indictment in the preciousas many years. The first phase

of what the Federal Government calls Op- 1 eration Polar Cap involved the 1988 breakup of a \$1 billion money-laundering scheme for the Medellin cartel through a Los Angeles jewelry mart. "Saccoccia was in a position to step right in after we knocked out Polar Cap One," says U.S. Attorney Lincoln Almond of Rhode Island. "We were onto him from the git-go.

The end came last week in Geneva. where Saccoccia, 35, was arrested with his wife (and reputed confederate) Donna. carrying \$500,000 in cash. Yet that is mere pocket change for precious-metals traders. whose enormous cash transactions make them ideal fronts for laundering. "A precious-metals dealer may buy and sell hundreds of millions of dollars of gold in a year in numerous transactions, show a minimal profit, produce limited business records that appear legitimate and not raise suspicion," explains Dennis Fortune, a moneylaundering expert and 24-year IRS veteran.

In Saccoccia's operation, say prosecutors, hundreds of thousands of dollars flowed into dummy shops in Manhattan's jewelry district each day from nationwide drug couriers. The cash was bundled into duffel bags or gold-shipment crates and



From Manhattan's diamond district, Stephen and Donna Saccoccia's ring allegedly washed drug money through 25 banks, from the U.S. to metals and diamond industry in Europe, the Caribbean and South America

driven by Brink's or Loomis armored trucks to the Saccoccia Coin Co., an unobtrusive storefront in Cranston, R.I. (pop. 76,000), or to a second location in Los Angeles. Thereafter, most of the money was subdivided, deposited in U.S. hanksranging from Rhode Island's modest Fleet/Norstar to Bank of America-and then converted into cashier's checks made out to dummy firms. Next the money was moved electronically to foreign banks and eventually to the Colombians. Saccoccia

skimmed off up to 10% of the proceeds. The racket apparently grew with astonishing speed. Saccoccia started as a decent enough kid, collecting coins while in high school in Cranston until he dropped out in 1973 to open his coin shop. By 1980, with the price of gold soaring, the boy wonder enjoyed a statewide reputation. "He was fencing [buying and reselling] all the stolen gold in the area," recalls a local federal agent, "Kids were busting into houses left and right, stealing precious metals and lining up outside his store." By the time he pleaded guilty in 1985 to tax evasion. Saccoccia was reputedly a key moneymaking "associate" for New England's Patriarca Mafia family. After a brief stint in jail, say off one very big pipeline.

investigators, he started his laundering business in 1988.

As government agents dismantle Saccoccia's web, they marvel at his sophistication, "He was a tough micromanager who dictated every piece of the operation and castigated his subordinates regularly for

not doing deals fast enough," says Charles Domroe who heads the FBI's narcotics unit in New York. "He is also the first known launderer to serve both the Medellin and the Cali cartels." Among those indicted with Saccoccia is a man he allegedly answered to, a Miami-based trafficker for the Cali group named Duvan ("Uncle") Arboleda, who slipped quietly and safely back to Colombia two months ago.

Saccoccia wasn't as lucky-or as careful. When his cash deposits became suspiciously large, banks tipped off the IRS. Then, in a display of cooperation rarely seen in the financial industry, 10 banks agreed to continue taking the money as federal agents watched. Saccoccia's final mistake may have been his failure, quite literally, to wash the greenbacks before laundering them. In March 1990, Saccoccia and an aide delivered to a bank \$53,000 packaged in 53 bundles. The currency was tested by a cocaine-sniffing German shepherd named Basko, which

promptly went "bonkers," says an agent. A day later, another bank received a Saccoccia deposit. Basko went berserk again. And again and again, in bank after bank

One small bank allegedly used by the inderers, Heritage Loan and Investment Co., utterly refused to help the feds. But that shouldn't surprise Rhode Islanders. Heritage collapsed earlier this year, taking the state's system of 45 privately insured banks and credit unions with it. The bank's fugitive president, Joseph Mollicone Jr., who is accused of embezzling \$13 million, was initially a target of the Polar Cap probe. On the same day last fall that state examiners were inside Heritage reviewing the books, one of Saccoccia's aides turned up at a teller's window with \$52,600 in cash.

Officials predict that the demise of this global ring will reverberate through the drug trade for years to come. The Saccoccias, who are rumored to be returning voluntarily to the U.S. from Switzerland this week to face charges, allegedly commanded as much as 10% of the U.S. drug-money laundering market, "Money is the fuel that feeds the drug lords," says Commissioner of Customs Carol Hallett, "And we just cut PRESENTED BY



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AMAZING AMERICANS



A celebration of people who have lifted our nation's bride

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

enjamin Franklin was the very embodiment of the self-made, boot-strappingly ingenious Yankee, a boy with only two years of formal schooling who rose to acclaim as the wise man of America. Born in Bosson in 1700, one of 17 children of an immigrant candlemaker, Franklin became a printer's apprentice at 12. By 45 he not not was proprietor of his own shop and his own neespaper, but was putting into type an original eloquence that one day would be an important instrument in fogting our nation from a cluster of British colonies. Indeed, Benjamin Franklin's stirring words and stinging wit heped alunch e American Revolution—and his skillful diplomacy in France arranged the loans of money, arms and men that helped win it. And that is only part of his legace, He was a

founding father, too, of the first lending library in the colonies, a hospital, the University of Pennsylvania, the American Philosophical Society and a fire insurance company. His inventive genius devised a stove that bears his name, a remore-control door lock and bibicals. His courageous experiments with electricity led him to the scary adventure of fishing in the clouds a mid the thunderclaps for no less a quarry than the energy of lightning boits—with a kite for hard and nothing but a silken ribbon to insulate himself from their awesome power. For all his many achievements, Franklin was only tunclaired to learn more, to do more: "The rapid progress true science now makes," this Amaring American said wastfully in 1700, "occasions my regretting sometimes that I was born too soon."

It Takes You To States That Aren't On The Map.



Jeep, Cherokee Laredo





BUSINESS NOTES

AIRLINES

Grounded for Good

"We are very sorry to advise you Pan American Airways has suspended operation. All flights are canceled . .

In the end, it was as straightforward as that-a recorded message greeting passengers when they called the Pan American World Airways reservation desk last Wednesday. After 64 years, the aviation pioneer was grounded for good. The air-



line's five unions had just Sundown for Pan Am: no longer prepared for takeoff

agreed to \$43 million in concessions, but that was not enough, Pan Am was counting on Delta Airlines for an additional \$25 million. But Delta, which had come up with \$115 million to keen Pan Am flying in recent weeks in exchange for 45% of the company, refused to pay any more. Desperate, Pan Am's lawyers and bankers scrambled fruitlessly for fresh cash, reportedly begging TWA chairman Carl leahn for a relatively paltry \$15 million in a late-night call. Fat chance: TWA has said it will seek bankruptcy protection early next year.

ECONOMICS

Grossed Out

Any way you slice it, the economy is sluggish. But last week the Commerce Department began highlighting the gross domestic product instead of the more familiar gross national product as its preferred gauge of the economy's health. Both measure the total output of goods and services. But the GNP, in use since 1941, covers production by a country's workers wherever they are in the world. The GDP. which the rest of the industrialized world uses, covers only the

production within a nation's borders. Unfortunately, this statistical lens doesn't improve the current picture. The new

figures show the economy grew 1.7% in the most recent quarter, down from a previously reported 2.4%, measured by GNP. Most economists support the change, although it's not

easy to keep them from vawning. "In many ways, it's much ado about nothing," says David Blitzer, chief economist at Standard & Poor's "But it's raised consciousness in terms of imports and exports and how we measure and think about them. We should probably do it every other year."



Times readers once wore protective gear

INNOVATIONS

Out, Out, Damned Spot!

For years, avid readers of the New York Times took part of their favorite paper with them wherever they went-whether they wanted to or not. The ink that went into "All the News That's Fit to Print" was notorious for its tendency to rub off onto the hands and subsequently the face. the clothes, the furniture and the walls of whoever touched it. Enterprising merchants peddled special gloves readers could wear while working their way through the paper.

Last week, the Times announced that it has cleaned up its act. After a year of testing, a new ink has been introduced at the paper's two printing plants. The Times touts it as "reducing ruboff by 60 percent. The innovative ink was

developed for the Times by New Jersey-based Sun Chemical, the world's largest ink company. The move brings the local Times up to the standard of the national edition, already printed with tidier inks. Those few who think smudginess is next to godliness needn't fear, however: according to the Times, about half the dailies in America still use the traditional, rubbable ink.

RETAILING

Lease a Tree. **Get One Free**

Is it better to buy a fake but reusable Christmas tree? Or to buy a real, traditional tree and feel guilty about wasting a natural resource? For city dwellers without a yard, buying one with roots is out of the question. So what's left? Swedish megamerchant IKI A may have the answer. For

the sixth year in a row, the home-furnishing chain is offering its Rent-a-Tree program to American customers. Conceived in Europe during the 1970s and introduced in the company's seven U.S. stores as they opened, it works like this: for \$20-a \$10 deposit and a \$10 rental fee-and a signed lease agreement, a customer can walk out with a fresh 6to-10-ft. Douglas fir from Pennsylvania. Last year the program

was a resounding suc-

cess: 20,000 trees were

leased. IKEA expects to rent 30,000 this year. As a bonus this year, customers at most stores will get a coupon for a fir sapling they can pick up for planting in the spring. Once the used Christmas trees are returned to the store, they are ground into mulch, which customers can use in their gardens or leave for others. Better hurry, though: the sale started last week, and trees are expected to sell out by this coming weekend.



Picking out a tree to lease in New Jersey

New York Life is large, conservative, and dull. Reassuring in times like these, isn't it?

Things are a bit shaky these days in the financial world. Investors are getting a lot less adventuresome. And words like "stability" and "security" are coming back into vogue.

To some, of course, this is just the current economic trend. But at New York Life, we've had a conservative investment policy for 146 years.

When the financial community tied its money up in an overheated real estate market, we were modest investors. When others embraced junk bonds, we held back. (In fact, 95 percent of the bonds in our portfolio are investment grade.*)

Does that make us large and conservative? We should say so. And as for dull, we look at it this way: If being exciting means investing in volatile junk bonds, that's the kind of excitement we can all do without.

For information on any of our products and services, call your local

New York Life agent or 1-800-695-4331

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Fish Story

is DAVID BOULEY the prototypical chef of the future? He thinks so. It's true his eponymous restaurant was just named the most popular eatery in New York City by the Zagat Survey, shead of perennial favorites The Four Seasons and Lutèce. It's also true the 38-year-old wundercook is leading the charge to use more organic products in American cuisine. But can a kid from Connecticut thrive in the chef-eat-chef world of fancy French cooking? It can't hurt that he spends \$12,500 a month on chocolates and flowers. has almost as many employees (76) as seats (80) and uses a computer to track what his customers eat and where they sit. "European chefs have thought Americans don't know about food, but people are more aware of what they eat now," says Bouley. "I represent the new voice of American diners."

Open Book

Patricia Ireland doesn't like labels, but there's one she can't escape: controversial



Last week the longtime women's rights activist. who is about to become president of the National Organization tor Women. explained that in ad-

dition to her husband of 25 years, she has a female companion "who is also very important in my life." But the 46-year-old lawyer refused to call herself a lesbian or bisexual. "I've never hidden how I've lived my life." Ireland told the Advocate, the gayand-lesbian biweekly. "What I don't like is the idea that people try to categorize other people by their sexuality.

Field of **Dollars**

Somebody forgot to tell the New York Mets about the recession. Last week the ball club signed slugger Bobby Bonilla to a five-year, \$29 million contract, making him the highest-paid athlete in the history of team sports. Bonilla could turn out to be a bargain at that price if he wins games and draws fans, but to put his windfall into perspective, consider that next year Bonilla will make:

- 215 times what Babe Ruth carned in 22 years.
- . 14 times as much as the Mets manager. · 27 times the salary of
- George Bush. · 42 times as much as the
- mayor of New York City. • 200 times as much as the

average teacher.

Vice President until roughly the year 2025. On second thought, don't look at it Or look at it this way: that way.



more. The popular mother-daughter duo. known as much for their 18 No. 1 country-and-western songs as for the fact that it's fun trying to tell them apart, staged an emotional farewell concert in Tennessee last week, a pay-perview extravaganza that capped a yearlong 118-city farewell tour. Mother Naomi and daughter Wynonna (or is it the other way around?) are ending their professional partnership because of Naomi's battle with chronic hepatitis, but Wynonna will embark on a solo singing career, with occasional

help from Mom.







Drink Until You Finally Drop

Chronic alcohol abuse is becoming the entertainment of choice, and the No. 1 health problem, for an alarming number of kids

By JOHN ELSON

ive, from anywhere, it's Friday night: time for the youth of America to "rage." Time also to get broasted, buzzed, catatonic, messed up, ripped, screwed, trashed, wasted, zoned out. Time, to put it in language older folks can understand, to get totally, hopelessly drunk. Not at bars, of course: everywhere in America you have to be 21 to drink there-legally, that is-and anyway it's not the hip thing to do. These days teenagers buy into keg parties at homes where parents have left town for the weekend, where dangerous chugalug games are played to get booze and beer flowing into their system faster. Or they hang out at impromptu, one-night-only underground clubs that youthful entrepreneurs have set up in abandoned factories or warehouses, with the same goal in mind.

Despite the fact that the nation's per capita alcohol consumption has been on a decline for years, drinking among minors, in the words of Surgeon General Antonia Novello, "is out of control," More specifically, "unsupervised parties where kids drink are out of control. And the perception among parents that drinking is O.K. is out of control. We're going to lose a whole generation if we don't pay attention.

A study issued by Novello's office last June showed that 8 million of the nation's 20.7 million youths in grades 7 through 12 drink alcoholic beverages every week. Of those kids, 454,000 admit to weekly "binges"-meaning they consume five or more drinks in a single brief sitting. Another study, by the University of Michigan, reports that almost one-third of high school seniors drink to excess at least once every two weeks. And according to a survey prepared for USA Today, 46% of student leaders say drinking is their high school's biggest problem, followed by apathy, "Serious drinking is a fact of life," says Phuong Nguyen, senior-class president at Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School in a Washington suburb.

The problem isn't new, nor is the concern to control it. During the 1980s, states that had set 18 as the legal drinking age gradually adopted what is now the national standard; you must be 21 to purchase alcoholic beverages. But there are loopholes in the various regulations. Curiously, the binge-drinking epidemic among teens

comes at a time when drug abuse in this age group has been declining. The University of Michigan survey, taken in 1990, found that only 27% of the seniors had smoked marijuana in the past year, compared with 49% of seniors who took part in a 1980 poll. Andrew McGuire, head of the Trauma Foundation at San Francisco General Hospital. says "alcohol abuse is the No. I health problem of young people in America.

More than that, it appears to be the leading cause of death among teenagers. For many of these deaths, predictably, the police verdict is driving while intoxicated. In New York City last month, six youths were killed when the car in which they were riding went out of control while it was speeding late at night on a deserted street in the Bronx. The 18-year-old driver, who had only a learner's permit, had consumed more than twice the amount of alcohol required to qualify as legally drunk. In 1989. according to the National Traffic Safety Administration, 3,539 deaths in the 15-to-20 age group resulted from traffic accidents in which alcohol played a part.

Government officials are only now heginning to focus on what they believe is the



drinking among minors is "out of control"

vastly underreported number of alcoholrelated incidents among those in their teens and early 20s; suicide, murder, date rane, factor in 41% of all academic problems and 28% of college dropouts, according to a 1991 study by Virginia's George Mason University and West Chester University of Pennsylvania.

If kids start drinking in their teens, they usually keep on doing it in college, unless some trauma intervenes. The federal Office of Substance Abuse Prevention reports that undergraduates currently spend \$4.2 billion a year on booze-far more than they spend on textbooks. Nearly three-fourths of all college students drink at least once a month, says the Department of Health and Human Services, and 41% of them indulse in heavy drinking-that is, four or five drinks in a row-at least once every two weeks. Many of those students are still underage. Academic officials say booze is almost invariably present when students get into trouble. "Alcohol continues to be the No. 1 drug of choice on campus and everywhere else.

says Mary Rouse, dean of students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, "The correlation between sexual assault and drinking, vandalism and drinking, racism and drinking, is predictable. The trouble never starts until drinking begins."

Where it often begins is at homewithout adult monitoring. Large unsupervised parties where kids drink to get drunk as fast as possible are regular weekend happenings for many American teenagers. And parents who grew up in the drug culture of the late '60s and early '70s often look the other way, "I know they are drinking in the basement, but I never go down there," admits a mother of Washington teenagers, "If anything happens, my excuse is that I don't know what they are doing.

hat they are doing can be fatal. Last August 15-year-old Brian Ball of Trenton, Texas, died after downing 26 shots of yodka in 90 minutes at an all-you-can-drink party. Guests paid \$3 to attend, but once they were in the door, liquor cost just 50e a shot. At many such booze fests, the kids play drinking games like "Three Man Up," to speed up consumption. In this game players roll dice, and every time someone rolls a multiple of three, the player who has been designated the "Three Man" must take a drink. It the Three Man rolls a multiple, his title passes to another player.

If you can't find a house with look-theother-way parents, there's always an illegal club. In Los Angeles a smart young promoter type will locate a vacant building that can he broken into for a one-night stand, hire a pal with a good sound system to put together dance tracks and serve as deejay, and then hand out flyers urging kids to call a certain number if they want to party at a "major rager." An hour before show time, the organizer tapes an answering-machine message telling customers the location. Of course the club promoters play it safe. When teenagers drive to the touted locale. someone will be there-with a map showing where the party really is. Cost of the map: \$20. Don't expect refunds if you get lostcash collectors are changed every 15 min-

utes, just in case the police show up. Why are so many kids drinking themselves into a stupor? Boredom, peer pressure, escape from psychological pain and wanting to feel good are the usual answers. Since most of their parents drink, teenagers tend to think of alcohol as a less threatening drug than cocaine or marijuana. Says White House drug ezar Bob Martinez: "Adults often send a message to their kids that this is acceptable behavior. With marijuana, cocaine and heroin, there is no mixed message. With alcohol, there is." To David Anderson. a research professor at George Mason University's Center for Health Promotion, teenagers who indulge in binge drinking "delude themselves into thinking they can find their identity with alcohol. These kids are in search of community. And they have a quest for intimacy-who can I be at one with?

Belatedly. America's elders are beginning to treat teenage drinking with the seriousness it deserves. The White House office coordinating the Administration's drugcontrol policy has recently broadened its mandate to include alcohol abuse, and is scheduled to give President Bush a strategy for combatting the problem by January. Surgeon General Novello is among those who are trying to eliminate loopholes in states' minimum-age laws that make it easy for minors to buy and drink booze. For example, 35 states allow minors to possess alcohol under certain circumstances-with parental consent, for instance, or in private residences. And 19 states have no laws that would punish

teens for using false IDs to

purchase alcohol. Slowly, the legal picture is changing. Nine states have passed "social host" laws that allow adults to be sued if minors drink in their home no matter whether the adults are aware of the drinking. High schools have added courses on alcoholism, and many colleges feature alcohol-awareness weeks, during which students pledge themselves to abstain from booze. But there is a paradox here that symbolizes the depth of the problem. All too often these instant Lents end with alcohol-fueled "I survived the week" blasts in frats and dorms. The party animal is a tough beast to Reported by

Ann Blackman/Washington and Dan Cray/Los Angeles, with other bureaus

WHAT CAN BE DONE

Talk openly with minors about your own use of alcohol and set a good example.

"The biggest problem we have in the complacency of parents," says Surgeon General Antonia Novello.

Develop strong alcohol-abuse programs that tell teens how drinking affects the body.

According to Surgeon General's office surveys, 2.6 million teens do not know that an overdose of alcohol -- 20 shots of 86-proof alcohol within 90 minutes. for example—can be fatal

Demand that state legislators close loopholes that make it

relatively easy for minors to buy booze. Novello strongly favors laws that make householders liable for accidents caused by anyone who drinks in their home.

Enforce 21-minimum-age laws by requiring minors to carry distinctive IDs.

Good example: in New Jersey, teen driving permits have a profile rather than a full-face photo.

Stop youth-oriented alcohol advertising.

Says Elaine M. Johnson, director of the Federal Government's Office of Substance Abuse Prevention: "Glamorous and misleading alcohol promotion should be eliminated."

Medicine

Can Aspirin Prevent Cancer?

A new study suggests there may be yet another benefit from the world's most popular medication

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

ess than a decade ago, aspirin seemed to be losing some of its luster. Marketed since the beginning of the century as a uniquely effective pain and fever fighter, it was suddenly forced to compete with two major rivals-acetaminophen (Tylenol, Anacin-3) and ibuprofen (Advil, Nuprin)that had many of aspirin's benefits without some of its side effects. Worse, aspirin had been linked to Reye's syndrome, a rare but sometimes deadly condition that can afflict children after a bout of flu or chickenpox. Doctors immediately ceased to recommend it for most youngsters, and liquid Tylenol replaced orange-flavored children's aspirin in the family medicine cabinet.

But the wonder drug has made a wondrous comeback. In recent years it has been shown to be a powerful inhibitor of heart attacks and strokes-a virtue neither acetaminophen nor ibuprofen can match. And last week came preliminary evidence of another major benefit: aspirin reduces the risk of death from colon cancer, a disease that kills 50,000 Americans a year. A major study by the American Cancer Society, reported in the New England Journal of Medicine, found that people who took 16 aspirin tablets or more each month (or equivalent doses of related but lesser known anti-inflammatory drugs) cut their risk of dying from colon cancer as much as 50%. "It is a very strong and consistent finding," says Dr. Michael Thun, lead author of the report.

Still, many questions remain. Since study participants were not randomly assigned to take aspirin, it is possible that those who did were generally more health conscious than average and less likely to develop cancer in the first place. Or perhaps aspirin users had more internal bleeding than the others-a common side effect of aspirin-and therefore had their colon cancers detected early and cured readily. The study did not measure the actual incidence of colon cancer, just deaths resulting

But the age-old pain-killer may very well have direct anticancer properties. Unlike acetaminophen, which acts only on the central nervous system, aspirin (chemical name: acetylsalicylic acid) has an extraordinarily broad range of effects. The reason is that it interferes with the production of a diverse class of substances known as prostaglandins, which are found in nearly every body tissue. (Ibuprofen does too, but in a much more limited way.)

Some prostaglandins promote inflammation, fever and pain by sensitizing nerves to other chemicals released from injured cells. Aspirin's most familiar benefits come from interfering with these noisome processes. However, prostaglandins are also responsible for stimulating the production of the stomach's protective lining Study, an ambitious trial involving 40,000 women, half of whom will be randomly assigned to take low doses of aspirin every other day for at least five years. Originally designed to see if aspirin can prevent heart disease in women as it does in men, the study will also look at rates of colon cancer. migraines, stroke and gum disease.

Until the results are in, doctors are not recommending that anyone go out and gulp aspirin for good health. The drug can have unpleasant and even dangerous side effects, including ringing in the ears and blurred vision, as well as stomach bleeding. A more serious problem is hemor-

THE WONDER DRUG

Reduces fever





the risk of certain types of strokes

POTENTIAL BENEFITS:

- PREVENTS DEATH FROM COLON CANCER
- Prevents gum disease
- Prevents high blood pressure in pregnant won Prevents the recurrence of migraines

of mucus, which explains why too much aspirin can cause gastric distress and bleeding. Aspirin's ability to prevent strokes and heart attacks stems from its disruption of a prostaglandin that promotes blood clotting. As for colon-cancer prevention, it is possible that aspirin inhibits substances that play a role in cell proliferation. At least one such prostaglandin has been identified in lab animals. If aspirin does have this effect, it might prove useful in reducing the risks of other cancers as well.

Aspirin's list of unexpected benefits may not end with cancer. There is at least some evidence that it may be useful in preventing gum disease, gallstones, cataracts, miscarriages and even in treating viral diseases. Researchers in several fields eagerly await the results of the Women's Health

rhagic stroke, caused not by a clot blocking the brain's blood vessels but by vessels that rupture. Moreover, prostaglandins appear to work in opposing pairs. The ones that promote clot formation, for example, are countered by partners that do the opposite. Too much aspirin can therefore cause the very problems that lower doses relieve

Even if follow-up studies show that aspirin really does protect against cancer, doctors warn that it will never be a substitute for exercise, a low-fat, high-fiber diet or not smoking. Too many heart-disease patients have latched on to aspirin as a panacea and as an excuse to avoid changing lethal habits. The latest findings will probably, alas, tempt others to do the same. - Reported by Andrew Purvis/New York

Theater

Bomb over Broadway

NICK & NORA Music by Charles Strouse; Lyrics by Richard Maltby Jr. **Book by Arthur Laurents**

By WILLIAM A. HENRY III

W hen the curtain rises on the only new American musical of this Broadway season, the sole character onstage is a dog. That turns out to be depressingly symbolic. Five years and more in the making, derived from the beloved Thin Man movies, shaped by creators whose credits range from Gypsy and West Side Story through Applause and Annie to Miss Suigon, east with three Tony Award winners and designed by two more, Nick & Nora should have absolutely everything going for it. But the show that opens on Broadway this week is a crashing bore-cranky and arbitrary as a love story, tedious and pointless as a murder mystery. ham-handed as comedy, clubfoot ed as dance, at best wanty pleasant quite well. The final 10 minutes

achieve a truth and simplicity underscoring the barren brittleness of what has gone before. But ultimately the show fails at its most basic task; making audiences care about, or for that matter simply believe in, the

This failure is a pity for everyone involved, and for the American theater. As the cost of Broadway production soars and the number of new shows per season plummets, each arrival becomes precious especially the handful of big musicals, the Great White Way's economic mainstay and artistic signa-



as music. A few scenes work, some Bostwick and Gleason: Why are these people smiling?

ture. The producers of Nick & Nora blamed Broadway economics for their decision to cancel out-of-town tryouts. Instead the show played a near record nine weeks of in-town previews at full prices, prompting New York City's consumer-protection department to promulgate new rules for theater advertising. During that time, songs were scrapped and replaced, sometimes more than once; dialogue was rewritten; scenes were restaged; and a principal performer was fired.

It turns out to have been the usual shifting of deck chairs on the Titanic. Writer-

director Arthur Laurents gave his plot not just one hook but two: the murder of a female bookkeeper with a surprisingly glamorous set of associates and the marital troubles of Nick and Nora Charles (Barry Bostwick

and Joanna Gleason), the detectives who are on the case. But Laurents seems to have had trouble taking either half of the story seriously. The mystery investigation involves a series of pantomime flashbacks, each sillier-looking than the one before. The title characters are written so carelessly that in the opening scene one cannot be sure whether they are newly wed or suffering from seven-year itch. Their marital discord flares up out of nowhere and ends just as abruptly. The wife's flirtation with an oily gangster fits no visible aspect of her personality. It is also baffling that she seems to find her husband raffish and charming when he is portrayed as an obvious alcoholic. Nora's closest bond seems to be with an old school friend, now a movie star, who induces the couple to take on the murder case. In this role, Christine Baranski, normally

an actress of delicacy and insight. stomps about and grinds her jaw like a man in drag.

Laurents was offered plenty of advice about ways to improve the show-from composers Stephen Sondheim and Jerry Herman and playwright Anthony Shaffer. among others, according to sources close to the producers. It was all rejected. So was the testimony of the public, which walked out in droves. At a performance last week, two elderly women in the front row tottered out about 20 minutes before the end. This writer, seated behind, longed to join them.

Milestones

REAPPOINTED, Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, 64, conservative German theologian noted for his unvielding stance on issues of sexual morality and his disciplinary actions against liberation theologians as well as others who have diverged from strict orthodoxy; to a third five-year term as head of the Vatican's doctrinal office; by Pope John Paul II.

RESIGNED. David Baltimore, 53, Nobelprizewinning biochemist; from the presidency of Rockefeller University; in New York City. For five years Baltimore vigorously rejected charges by Margot O'Toole, a junior researcher at M.I.T., that the findings in a 1986 scientific papert Baltimore co-wrote were based on falsified research by immunologist Thereza Imanishi-Kari. O'Toole lost her job. but an investigation by the National Institutes of Health found this year that her charges had been correct. In his letter of resignation, Baltimore wrote that governing the university under a cloud "has taken a personal toll on me and my family which I can no longer tolerate.

DIED. Richard Speck, 49, drifter whose 1966 slaughter of eight student nurses in a Chicago residence horrified the nation; of a heart attack; in the Stateville Correctional Center in Joliet, Ill. Late on a July night, Speek broke into a South Side town house and stabbed and strangled eight of nine roommates. The sole survivor escaped by hiding under a bed. Speck was captured after an emergency-room surgeon, who was treating Speck following a suicide attempt. spotted on his arm a BORN TO RAISE HELL tattoo that the survivor had described.

DIED. Bert Combs, 80, former Governor of Kentucky and longtime leading figure in that state's Democratic polities: from injuries sustained in a car accident; in Rosslyn, Ky.

DIED. George Stigler, 80, pioneering freemarket economist; in Chicago. Since 1958 Stigler and fellow University of Chicago professor Milton Friedman helped to shape the so-called Chicago school of economies, which promotes government deregulation. He won the 1982 Nobel Prize in Economics for his path-breaking research on industrial organization. His work, which was characterized by rigorous scrutiny of data, led to a new understanding of the connection between government regulation and the economy.



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A Peter Pan for **Yuppies**

In his new movie, Hook, as in his life. **ROBIN WILLIAMS** shows what happens when the boy who won't grow up turns 40 and is ready for risks

By KURT ANDERSEN

e's ubiquitous: every month or so lately, there's been a new Robin Williams movie. First carrie a company Dead Again, in which he plays a ruined yuppie wretch who advises the movie's hero during the latter's supernatural quest for redemption. Then The Fisher King-as a ruined vuppie wretch whose wife's murder propels him and the movie's hero on a supernatural quest for redemption. Now it's Hook, in which he plays a wretched yuppie whose children's kidnapping propels him on a supernatural quest for redemption

In the highly improbable protagonist's role-Peter Pan grown up? Peter Pan, a Type A investment banker?-it is hard to imagine anyone other than Robin Williams. After all, the arc of Hook's Peter Pan-an impish, Dionysian youngster, after a painful struggle with worldly temptation, finds his family to be the source of true happiness-is a pretty fair summary of Robin Williams' life at 40.

During most of the time America was falling in love with Williams-charmed by his TV character Mork, thrilled by his semi-improvisational comedy on cable-TV specials. charmed again by his early movie roles (in Moscow on the Hudson, in Garp)-his life was pretty much a mess. "I think I had my mid-life crisis at around 27," says Williams, who was 26 when Mork & Mindy went on the air. In addition to too much trivial sex, there was too much vodka and bourbon and way too much cocaine. "It was like symbiotic abuse. It was Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Williams. The bloated fish," he calls his early-'80s self. "The Michelin poster child

He quit both booze (gradually, all by himself) and coke (cold turkey, all by himself), but unlike many of today's celebrity recoverers. Williams has not succumbed to just-sayno zealotry. While he knows cocaine is "a totally selfish drug" and a dead end, he's also unafraid to recall the fun, "It was always around. 'Robin, want to do some blow? Want to do some blow in a back room with some very famous people? 'Oh, yeah!'

But sobriety by no means fixed his life. He and his first wife separated when their son Zachary was four, and he eventually took up with Marsha Garces, the woman who had once been Zachary's baby sitter. A PEOPLE magazine cover story, he says, badly distorted the facts ("I had been separated from my wife for a year and a half-my wife was living with another man") and inaccurately east Garces as a homewrecking nanny. After almost four years (and marriage to Marsha; and two babies, Zelda, 2, and Cody, two weeks). Williams still gets apoplectic on the subject.

The story came at a high-stress moment. In addition to the marital disarray, his father had just died and his last three movies had bombed. "It was starting to look like" -- the voice assumed is a prissy superego-" 'Uh-oh. Have we made several wrong choices? Have we just batted out at the bottom of

the third? It was a pivotal time

Because Williams' comic persona is supercharged and allusive, and because he was a sex-and-drugs wild man, people assume that he has always been a hellion. In fact, he was a quiet, dutiful, good son-a not very religious Episcopal acolyte, a student-body president, and in 1969, in Marin County. Calif., a quiet, dutiful, unrebellious teenager. The blowout hedonism of his 20s and 30s was the aberration, because now, at 40, he is quiet, dutiful and good once again.

Williams' great charm and his great weakness are, in the words of director Paul Mazursky, a desperate desire to be wonderful. These days the actor is still effervescent, bubbling with notions and takes. During two brief spells in one afternoon, he is, at each moment in context, Nastassia Kinski, a disco sleaze, a fashion model, Mick Jagger, Ronald Reagan. James Brown, George Bush, David Duke, Margaret Thatcher and Harold Pinter's answering machine ("Hi, this is Har-

old"-a long pause-"Pinter").

Although he still scribbles as many as a dozen comedy premises a week-"Pope from the Deep South," for instance-his only stand-up performances these days are unannounced late-night appearances at big-city comedy clubs. Aside from the intrinsic pleasures of stand-up-making people laugh, being adored by strangers-what Williams misses about it is the sense it used to give him of middle America's mood. "As you go outside the major cities and get into other places, you go 'Oh' "-here his voice turns Southern, smirky, menacing-" 'maybe thangs are a little different than they seem, Mister Smart-Ass Liberal.' You cross the Manson-Nixon Line and 'It ain't that funny, Audi Driver, Mister BMW. Jewish Management."

For all his heartfelt leftism-he performs at a dozen benefits a year, including the annual Comic Relief telethon for the homeless-Williams is not blind to the particular self-satisfactions of Beverly Hills limousine liberals. "There can be an ain't-we-swell smugness about it that can be oppressive." Although he didn't attend the recent Hollywood benefit for Oxfam America, at which 15% of the beautiful people had a posh dinner, 25% ate only rice and beans, and 60% had rice and water, the very thought of it made him giddy: "And then 20% actually get electrodes attached to their testicles and interrogated. And then at the very end, 7% draw straws and get shot. What effect will it have? For two weeks they'll go, 'Hola, Margarita? No hablos se tacos. Thank you.

Williams is equally clear-eyed about his own work in films and his earlier tendency toward shtick. His director on Garp, George Roy Hill, "basically would say, 'Don't improvise. Try something much simpler.' And that was a good thing." After the great success of Good Morning, Vietnam (1987) and Dead Poets Society (1989), Williams' Hollywood ascendancy seems inevitable. But before those breakthroughs, Williams was just another mortified, covetous,



"I think I had my mid-life crisis at around 27... It was Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Williams."

Williams says Bob Hoskins, who plays Hook's first mate, Smee, gave him a key piece of advice: make Pan ever so slightly insane.

At the end of Hook, the Williams character, swearing off both youthful recklessness and play-itsafe overmaturity, declares himself ready for adult adventures. And so does the actor seem to be plunging headlong toward intriguing, invigorating professional risk. Williams reads several scripts a week, and of the half a dozen he is considering, only one. Mazursky's proposed sequel to Moscow on the Hudson, seems surefire commercially. Williams' next movie, Toys, a surreal comedy about a general who takes over a toy company, is to be directed by Barry Levinson, who directed Good Morning, Vietnam. Williams is also talking with director Bill Forsyth about starring in Becoming Human, a series of sketches about evolution; and with Oliver Stone about playing assassinated gay politician Harvey Milk in Mayor of Castro Street. Some comedies, some full-bore dramas, some possible box-office hits. some certainly not. But Williams doesn't think of himself as a latter-day Woody Allen. He has no auteurist ambitions. "It takes a lot of discipline and vision, and I am

too lazy for that. I have never been able to really write." The only thing of which he's professionally certain is his feeling about network TV: never again. "This one [ante-executive] came up one day and said, 'I used to think Jack Carter was finny. Now if som."

So he doesn't obsess about higger paychecks. He feels he as enough power to get the movie rules he wants. He's no ascetic (there's a 500-arc ranch in Napa and a glorious new house overlooking San Franciscos Bay), but the movie-star pampering is minimal: he drives himself everywhere and sehlepps his own wardrobe—actually, a bunch of old shirts—to a photo session. He's happy with the way things have worked out but not, he wants you to know, complacent,

"It isn't a question of doing more work," he says of his goals, "It's more of your own internal critic that goes, "You could do better than that. Take the higher road, and not the casy route." "Having thrown off his desperate need to be wonderful, Robin Williams can now start being wonderful.

B-list actor. He auditioned for the Charles Grodin role in Midnight Run. And he talked to the producers of Bannan about playing the Joker: "I think I was used for bait to get Nicholson."

Nicholson."
But Good Morning, Viennam's success gave him the confidence and clout to star in the riskier Dead Deets Society, and
without that film, he says, he wouldn't have been cast in
Anademings bankability and a reputation for range in three
easy steps. But it was serendiply, not five-year-plan calculation. "I haven't orchestrated it, it doesn't seem like I have to
do one serious, one comedy, one serious, one comedy. I'm

more like a child—"That'd be neat!"

And now Hook, a very high-stakes, special-effects-laden megapicture. For Williams, who is in nearly every scene, making the movie was a grueling six months on the set. He was obliged to shave his arms and upper body every other day. And the acting wasn't easy, either: in a 40-year-old man, Mary Martin Ferness—"Come on, Los Boos!"—could be a wiful.



"Battered women are caught in a cycle of violence. Too often, it accelerates until the ultimate violence."

Dr. Kevin Fullin - Kenosha, Wisconsin

"A third of all women's injuries coming into our emergency rooms are no accident," says this 36-year-old heart specialist from southern Wisconsin. "Most are the result of deliberate, premeditated acts of violence. And frequently they occur over and over until the woman is killed.

"Family violence is one of America's most critical health issues," continues Dr. Fullin. "Yet society repeatedly sweeps it under the rug. There's a tendency to rationalize this as 'a personal problem they should settle themselves.' And tragically, the victim returns home to be beaten again."

But Dr. Fullin was not about to sweep this issue under his carpet. Working closely with fellow doctors and administrators, he championed the state's first Domestic Violence Advocate Program in his hospital.

The American Medical Association (AMA) applauds Dr. Fullin's initiative in this bold new community program. And his colleagues in the AMA share his concern about family violence in America. It is fully in keeping with the AMA Principles Of Medical Ethics first set forth 144 years ago.

Today, over a quarter million AMA physicians are dedicated to providing medical care with compassion and respect for human dignity.

As Dr. Fullin puts it, "I want to be more than just a good cardiologist. I want to be involved in my community, too. And this has been very gratifying."

If you would like to learn more about the AMAS programs concerning family violence in America, write Dr. Jim Todd, Dept. 205, American Medical Association, 515 North State Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610 and we will send you our latest booklet, Five Issues in American Health.

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Cinema

Spoiled Brainchild

HOOK Directed by Steven Spielberg Screenplay by Jim V. Hart and Malia Scotch Marmo

By RICHARD SCHICKEL

Peter Pan who works days as a mergers and acquisitions lawyer? Whose cellular phone is practically grafted to his ear? Who is-pause here for J.M. Barrie to shift in his grave-afraid of flying?

Welcome to '90s revisionism run riot And, assuming such a well-loved tale actually needs to be made more relevant for today's audience, a not unpromising conceit

down near a familiar open window, through which they can be conveniently abducted by Captain Hook (Dustin Hoffman). In due course Banning will be conducted through the same window by his old friend Tinkerbell (Julia Roberts). His mission is to rescue his kids, but that gives him the chance to prove he's really a caring male (a Bly, if not entirely blithe, spirit)

and to rediscover his true, spritely identity. Whew. No wonder the guy has trouble about them. The sets are spectacular, but their scale and luxe become oppressive. And they impose a peculiar burden on the director. He has a terrific way with action sequences, a genius for inventive detail that reads clearly even at his preferred pace, which is warp speed. But even he has to strain to fill these spaces; and his resort to a food fight, symbolizing Peter's rebonding with his old pals, the Lost Boys, is dismal and realized without conviction

Since so many of Spielberg's movies have dealt with abandoned or abducted children (Close Encounters of the Third Kind, Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom, Empire of the Sun, just to name the top of the line), no one can doubt the director's emotional attach-









Robin Williams is a Peter Unprincipled, grounded in all the latest guilts and anxieties. He has a new surname (Banning) and a wife and two kids he neglects, owing to the press of the greed business. He is also afflicted by a convenient case of amnesia. He knows he's an orphan, but he can't remember anything that happened before "Gran Wendy" (Maggie Smith) arranged for his adoption by an American couple. Namely, he can't remember that he passed his preadolescent years wearing a little green tunic and a silly hat.

Unfortunately, it requires a great whirring and clanking of plot machinery to make us believe this Peter is the One True Peter. The sounds of still more noisy manufacturing accompany the creation of a father-offspring conflict and the maneuvering of the Banning clan back to Gran's house. There, the children are bedded wolve flying-have a nice, tossed-off air time-light on her wings.

getting off the ground. He's carrying too much baggage. And so is Steven Spielberg's movie, which starts out deceptively, that is, wonderfully, with a school production of the original Peter Pan-cardboard scenery and sweetly earnest little players, faces scrunched by the effort of remembering their lines. This is the director at his formidable best, tenderly evoking the spirit of childhood

A wild surmise leaps up: maybe Hook is going to be a true work of the imagination. something quick and wildly improvising, like a child's account of a made-up adventure. But the real function of this sequence is to provide a humble contrast to the excesses that follow, rendering the well-publicized gazillions that have been lavished on Hook all the more impressive

The special effects-they mostly in-

sen the wrong way to demonstrate it. In effeet, he has spoiled his brainchild rotten. Hook is not bratty, which might at least have been fun. It's stuffy, like one of those overdressed rich kids, standing forlorn in the corner at a party, afraid of ripping his clothes.

John Williams' score, all thunder, lightning and self-importance, reinforces the film's charmlessness, and Hoffman's Hook emblematizes it. He's broody and selfabsorbed, utterly gleeless in his villainy. But then even Robin Williams, that freest of comic spirits, never has a truly antic moment. Roberts, as Tinkerbell, is luckier than her co-stars. Her character has no obligation to try to fill the already overstuffed screen. Couldn't possibly do it anyway, since she's only a wee little fairy, a couple of inches tall. But Roberts is ingenuous, unaffeeted and what Hook is only some of the



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Living

Hey, Let's Do A Few Lines!

Sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll are taking a backseat to poetry among the hip set

By JANICE C. SIMPSON

To have great poets, there must be great idiences, too.

-Walt Whitman

o stranger to the bar scene of his own era, the Bard of Brooklyn would love the crowd at Chicago's Green Mill Lounge. Every Sunday night it's standing room only in this gritty neighborhood tavern. The audience is there for the weekly "slam," a literary version of The Gong Show at which amateur poets compete for small cash prizes and the much richer reward of having their work heard by an enthusiastic public. The poetic abilities of many contestants may be open to debate, but the audience is always in top form. On a typical evening a rambling poem about using nuclear



weapons to blow up political banquets brings raucous cheers. A watery ode to existentialism ("Nothing that is worth having actually is ...") draws equally good-natured jeers.

Suddenly, poetry is popular again with the hip crowd, for the first time since the Beat Generation of the '50s and early '60s.

During the past five years, a new generation of defiantly populist poets has moved verse out of the hothouse environment of college and university writing programs and into bars, coffeehouses and even Laundromats and subway trains. "The only way for poetry to survive is to get out and get poetry into people's lives," declares Bob Holman, who



organizes readings at the hip Nuyorican Poets Cafe on New York City's Lower Fast Side.

The poetic populists claim that their efforts are providing fresh blood for an increasingly anemie area of American culture. The Transfission is substantial: the New York Cita Poetry Calendar currently lists an average of 15 gatherings each night. In Los Angeles the Poetry Hotfine give updates on readings: meanwhite, celebrities like Joe Spano, who played sensitive Sergeant Henry Goldblume on Hill Street Blues, render their favorite poems in trendy spots like the Chateau Marmont.

"Poetry deserves to be heard." he says.
Readings have caught on with a young
and readily diverse set that sees poetry
clash sa an attractive way to meet people
now that the disco scene is posse. "Before
the scene was centered around doing coke
or poin your house with your friends or
going out to a bar-and drinking," says Lycia
Naff, at wentysomething actrees in Lox
Andread of the seed of the seed of the seed of the
fire of the confectioness. "Poetry gatherings are
also a relatively cheep right out. Says Loydinking with the seed of the seed of the seed of the
Green Milli." Where else can you have the
much fur fire 542."

Some observers credit rap music for the renewed interest in the spoken word. "Ears are being tuned up to listen to words again," says Manhattan's Holman. Events like slams are aimed to appeal to a generation accustomed to the frenetic action of Arty. Contestants at Chicago's Green Mill are encouraged to perform their poems to live music, creating a new blend of poetry and song that has been nicknamed—what

else—pong. In New York City the decign at the Nuyorican Poets Cafe plays James Brown records and other dance music during breaks between slam competition rounds. "It's great to see writing so alive, and the dancing is great too," says Danine Richards, 25, a writer from Brooklyn.

At the Electronic Cafe International in Santa Monica, Calif., the emphassis is on a mix of video and poetry called Telepoetics. At one recent event a poet in Santa Fe read a work about child/brith over telephone wires that fed into the cafe public address system. While her her public address system, While her

disembodied voice filled the room, images of her performance in New Mexico were projected onto three TV screens.

Open-mike readings, at which anyone can get up and perform, are another popular audience booster in the clubs. Social issues, sexual and racial politics, and the general crassness of American culture are popular topics. "In the Persian Gulf bodies rained. Arab jets all worked in vain." The modern world is at the flood." declaims Joe Roarty at Chicago's Cafe Voltaire. Earnestness and energy also count for a

lot. Donna Wozinsky, 36, a spunky special-education teacher from Oucens whose verse tends toward the exerucialingly personal ("I, the sperm bank of your soul ...") attends at least three open-mike readings or slams per week. Says she: "I don't mind being judged because I know the audiences like me."

There is, of course, the risk that the outburst of versifying will merely inundate the country with bad poetry that plays better onstage than on the page. But optimists-argue that any interest will inevitably translate

into greater respect for the truly gifted, "sys S.X. Rosenstock, wee president of Poetry Society of America. West, "Whether it's Beat poetry or Dante, they want to hear it. Speaking any poem is a statement of your freedom." — With reporting by Deborah Edie Brown Los Angels and Nine Burielish Chikago.



or Spano recites in L.A.



Off on a Cashmere Cloud

Before he was a pop star Nat King Cole was a jazz artist, and a big new boxed set shows how good he really was

By JAY COCKS

Leven though this is a state occursion, let us, for the present, forwear all the obligatory cries of a clamation. None of this "the king, livest" stuff. And no "once and future king" cither. They may be true, but they sound a little stiff somehow, something his music never was. Sotaking a cue from the music testle. King Cole with one bright "lishsh!" a loud "bant!" and a reverent but resounding "atlakzam!"

You may recognize that little refrain from a 1950 killer hit of Cole's called Orange Colored Sky. If not, it isn't too late to catch up and catch on. In fact, now is just the time. Cole is more emphatically present now than at any time since his death in 1965. His daughter Natalie reprised his Unforgettable earlier this year, laid in her dad's voice for a posthumous duet and grabbed herself a No. 1 album. A new Cole biography was published this spring. Every time PBS has a time slot to fill or needs to kick off a fund raiser, it seems to air a show from Cole's '50s TV variety series.

And most important (Flash! § bam!), the interpil Mossic Records has just released The Complete Captural Recordings of The Nat King Cole This: 18 CDs or 27 LFs, with a total of 349 cuts and about 17 heurs of music. Great American music music did to the sound, if doesn't get much greater than this. Any one of the tunes in this collection can swingyou of florid tunes in this collection can swingyou of florid tunes in this collection can swingyou of florid tunes in this collection can swingyou of florid.

a cashmere cloud. Yes, Cole was that good. He could sing up there with Sinatra, Billy Eckstine, Tony Bennett: "one of our four or five most aweinspiring and most popular mainstream vocalists" is the way Will Friedwald sums it up in his kinetic and knowledgeable essays accompanying the set. Along with that considerable distinction, Cole was also a superb keyboard man, mightily influenced by the great Farl Hines and able to hold his own against-if not precisely surpass-his mentor and the likes of Art Tatum. When he became a pop superstar, he gradually shed the bass and guitar that had been the foundation of his trio sound. But he never lost his jazz roots.

Well, almost never. Hit tunes from late





was built on the driving, airy invention of his trio, with himself at the keyboard, but by the time daughter Natalie was 7, he had shed his sidemen and taken center stage as a mainstroam singer

in his career like Those Lazy-Hazy-Crazy Days of Summer and Ramblin' Rose stretched his credentials pretty thin and are nowhere to be found on Mossic Neither are such excellent sungs as Manu Lichter are such excellent sungs as Manu Lichter and the such that the such as the such such the new not in effection whitestower. The Mossic set is for jazz fam, not nostalgists, and at \$270° is not an impulse fulchase. (It is available only by mail or phone order from Mossic 233° 327° 7111.

Producer Michael Cuscuna tried to include only tunes: "where Nat is on piano, the trio style is evident and hopefully there is some juzz content." Even such a flexible standard becomes a little restrictive by the early '50s, when Cole turned more and more toward often wonderfully arranged orchestrations by Nelson Riddle. Billy May. Pete Rugolo and others. One of the Mosaic set's standout cuts is Cole's benchmark version, arranged by Rugolo, of Billy Strayhorn's great ballad of fantasy, loneliness and longing. Lush Life. There is also Nature Boy—no getting away from that—and

such toothsome novelties as four duets with Johnny Mercer, including the memorably titled Save the Bones for Henry Jones ('Cause Henry Don't Eat No Meat).

Mercer, a cool-hand songwriter as well as a canny businessman, had first seen Cole playing a date at a Los Angeles steak joint in the late 30s and almost a half-decade later. signed him up for his fledgling Capitol Records. Cole was, even then, a sure jazz spirit and a first-rate singer. Born Nathaniel Adams Coles in Montgomery, Ala., in 1919, he had moved with his clergyman father and family to Chicago in 1923 and started to play professionally while he was still a teenager. Guitarist Oscar Moore and bass player Wesley Prince joined him in 1937-a club owner had suggested to Cole that he form a trio-and "for seven years," as the front man himself later remembered, "we knocked ourselves out." Cole had begun to sing. he later recalled, "to break the monotony," and by the time they joined Mercer's new label the trio had gone about as far in jazz and show biz as a black outfit could in those days.

It was the driving, any inventions of the trio sound, first defined by such pre-Capitol hits as Sweet Loo-raine, that saked their reputation, leads them a stellar attraction. "The vo-capitol was a sweet Loo-raine, that saked their reputation, on." There were sweet all shift in trio personnel over the years (Irving Ashby, to cample, took over the guitar when Moore departed in 1947), and the group became a quarter in

1949 with the addition of drummer Joe Costanzo. But through it all, Cole was the guiding spirit and main draw. This helped him get his TV show in 1956—he was the first major black enter-

This neighbor link get nos IV show in 1956—he was the first major links elettratainer to have a region redswift, protein the parameter of the parameter of the heap izer community, which had been buffeted by bog and the resuless experimentation of Mitso Dasis. The donious Monk and John Colltrane. Cole began to look like a sisken etchnician who'd sold his soul. One of the best things about this Mosaic set is sisken etchnician who'd sold his soul. One of the best things about this Mosaic set is that it helps to correct that impression and shows Cole for the artist he was. He wasn't corrupted by the ministream. He used juzz to enrich and renew it, and left behind a lasting legoly. Very like a king.

Television

At the Top of **Their Game**

PLAY BY PLAY: A History of Sports Television; HBO

By RICHARD ZOGLIN

S portscasters are an odd breed. They try to impress us with their expertise and calm authority, yet they are remembered best for the moments when they totally lose it. Some of those moments are famous, like the time Al Michaels hit the roof as the U.S. hockey team beat the Soviet Union at the 1980 Winter Olympics ("Do you believe in miracles?!"). In fact, every ecstatic "holy cow!" and "oh my!" is a reminder of the sheer childlike emotion

that snorts at its best can evoke. That emotion is

what makes Play by Play: A History of Sports Television, a two-part HBO special, the most exhilarating documentary of the year. The old clips are irresistible and surprisingly fresh. In the very first sports telecast, a 1939 college baseball game between Columbia and Princeton, viewers couldn't even see the ball. Later came technical advances like the portable



camera and the instant replay, and visionaries like ABC's Roone Arledge, who discovered that the thrill of victory could be the stuff of great drama. The program is packed with memorable highlights (Hank Aaron's 715th homer; Nadia Comaneci's perfect 10 at the 1976 Olympics), but it doesn't ignore the lowlights, from the rise of trash sports to NBC's nutty 1980 experiment with an announceriess football game.

Announcers, of course, were always the key. Play by Play, a rare multinetwork collaboration, brings together an all-star team of hosts (Jim McKay, Pat Summerall, Bob Costas, Curt Gowdy, Brent Musburger and Jim Lampley) and a Hall of Fame lineup of booth pioneers (Red Barber, Mel Allen, Lindsey Nelson) in clips and interviews. These men are full of anecdotes, good humor and the reverent glow of people who have witnessed incredible events. They seem like the happiest guys on earth.





My Rock Of Gibraltar.





He looked like a young George Burns. That's what all the girls used to say. He actually used to call me Gracie. When he was shipped overseas he wrote twice a week. He sent letters from Germany and Paris, and once he even sent one from the front lines. I think he's written more meaningful words on paper with that Cross pen than he's ever said to me in person. He still uses the same

pen, and
always jokes that it will last
longer than he will.
But I bought him
a new Cross ball-point pen, I want to save
the old

one for myself. It reminds me of the time when I received a bunch of letters addressed to a girl he called Gracie.

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From fossils to cuff links, Kuwait to Hollywood, Mickey Mouse to Michelangelo, here is something for everyone



THE PRADO by Santiago Alcolea Blanch (Abrams: \$95) No wonder connoi call it the museum lover's museum. The Madrid structure has works by virtually every consequential artist, from the medieval masters to the Italian. Flemish and Dutch schools to Spain's most prominent painter, Picasso, whose monumental Guernica has come home after nearly 50 years of exile.



THE LAST WILDERNESS by the Canadian Nature Federation and Freeman Patterson (Rizzoli: \$50) One hundred and forty photographs equal one editorial. It argues eloquently for the preservation of Canada's vast but endangered forests, locales where fish school in crystalline water and polar bears wander over surfaces as yet unmarked by the snowmobile.



PATRONAGI: edited by Esin Atil (Rizzoli; \$65) More than 100 of Kuwait's artistic treasures are on view in this extraordinary exhibit without walls. It demonstrates anew that war is not the Middle East's only legacy. The

region remains a primary font of religious and aesthetic



APPEARANCES by Martin Harrison (Rizzoli: \$65) Style is substance, and fashion follows form in this collection of strikingly seductive fashion photographs since 1945. From Richard Avedon's dramatic compositions to Irving Penn's crisp images to Deborah Turbeville's diaphanous fantasies. these images reflect the vision of the photographer far more than the fashions they

are designed



BEDS by Diane Von Furstenberg and Stewart O'Shields (Bantam: \$35) The bed has always been the still point of a turning life. From the plush regal litter of the empress Joséphine to the spartan mattress of the painter Francesco Clemente to the author's own seductive boudoir, the beds depicted in this dreamy book are not simply places to sleep but shrines to art, imagination and fantasy.



GEMS OF COSTUME JEWELRY by Gabriele Greindl (Abbeville: \$65) Rhinestone, long a synonym for the meretricious, has its reputation restored in a glamorous collection of brooches, necklaces, tiaras, shoe buckles, bracelets and earrings. Then again, even Styrofoam would glitter on such icons as Marlene Dietrich, Bette Davis, Marilyn Monroe and Audrey Hepburn.



THE AMERICAN BILLBOARD 100 YEARS by James Fraser (Abrams; \$49.50) The billboard seems just the right size for the American landscape, while its boldness seems the perfect mirror for the American sensibility. From the sentimental images that sold soap in the 1920s through the stark, wordless Nike billboards of today, this book traces the evolution of a quintessential form of American advertising.



HE SPLENDOR OF FRANCE by Laure Maurat and Roberto Schezen (Rizzoli: \$110) Some 40 very private residences are opened to voyeurs of exquisite architecture, interiors, private wineries and landscaped gardens. Fully restored after centuries of war and revolution, these châteaus prove that when the French say a man's home is his castle, they mean it literally.



ACTING HOLLYWOOD STYLE by Foster Hirsch (Abrams; S60) In dazzling photographs and sprightly prose, Acting Hollywood Style probes how and why movie stars move us. The author dissects Hollywood acting through discussions of body language, voice and the landscape of the face-how we read emotions into the luminous but blank gaze of Greta Garbo.



motion pictures of evolution-life frozen in its tracks cons and epochs ago. Astonishing photographs examine the evidence of prehistoric dragonflies. early fish, flying reptiles, horned dinosaurs and human ancestors. A lively text explains the

FOSSILS by Niles Eldredge and Murray Alcosser

(Abrams: \$60) Ancient bones are the first stop-

ARTS & CRAFTS STYLE by Isabelle Anscombe (Rizzoli; \$50) In the 1870s an influential movement, based on the medieval craft guilds, managed to overthrow the "gigantic weariness" of Victorian design. Philosophers and artisans worked together, raising tables and chairs, textiles, kitchenware-even fireplace ornaments-to the realm of art. Their achievements still glow in this profuse and discerning history.



TICKET TO PARADISE by John Margolies and Emily Gwathmey (Bulfinch: \$29.95) Every American town had its Roxy, its Bijou, its Majestic. The great movie theaters built between the '20s and the '50s were cathedrals of popular culture. This book provides a sentimental journey to these palaces, evoking a time when life seemed like a Saturday matinec.





THE SISTINE

Frederick Hartt, Fabrizio Mancinelli and Gianluigi Colalucci (Knopf; two volumes: \$1,000) Michelangelo's mission was to reveal the beauty of God's creation; these books reveal the beauty of Michelangelo's creation, Scholars once spoke of the artist's "sober coloring." These sumptuous volumes, depicting the chapel's restoration, reveal just how wrong they were.



CUFF LINKS by Susan Jonas and Marilyn Nissenson (Abrams; \$35) Since the 18th century, cuff links have been the way for a man to wear his art on his sleeve. They bring a

touch of elegance to the male uniform of tuxedo or business suit. This richly illustrated book, which features cuff links ranging from the sporty—fishing flies under crystal—to the fanciful—a pair of gold nuts and bolts—will make every man yearn for French cuffs.



THE ATLANTIC SALMON
FLY by fulls bunham and John
Clayton (Chronicle Books; \$39.95)
Forget the fish, the files that attect
them are so exquisite it seems a sin
tog et them wet. With such
tantalizing names as Silver Monkey,
Colonel's Lady, Pompadour and
Easy Off, the files in this beautifully
bhotographed book are the real
trophics that should be mounted on
the wall.



THE CELT'S edited by Sabatino Moscail, Otto Hermann Frey, Vencesias Kruta, Barry Raffery and Miklos Szabo (Rizzoli; 887) to the people of ancient Greece and Rome, the Celtic world B.C. was narrow and barbaric. Actually it reached from the British Isles to Asia Minor and had a highly developed civilization—as shown by finely wrought objects in bronze, silver and glass.



THE ART OF MICKEY
MOUSE edited by Craig Yoe and Janet
Morra-Yoe (Hyperion; 353) Andy Warhol
draws and quarters him on silk screen.
Bob Buccella places Mickey's hat on Van
Gogh—minus one ear. Keith Haring and
many other artists similarly deconstruct
their subject, but Disney's founding
rodent keeps smiline, confident that he

rodent keeps smiling, confident that he will outlast them all.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF IRELAND (Collins; \$45) On May 17,

IRELAND (Collins; \$45) On May 17, 1991, 75 photojournalists fanned out over the Emerald Isle for a period of 24 hours. The resulting contrasts are lyric enough for poetry (brides and nuns, musicians and farmers) or too bitter for words (glowering British soldiers in Belfast, homeless Dubliners sheltering in an abandoned ear).

-By Stefan Kanfer and Richard Stengel



Essay

Barbara Ehrenreich

Welfare: A White Secret

ome on, my fellow white folks, we have something to confess. No, nothing to do with age spots or those indoortanning creams we use to get us through the winter without looking like the final stages of TB. Nor and Italking about the fact that we all go home and practice funky dance moves behind drawn shades. Out with it, friends, the biggest secret that the stage of the stage of the stage of the stage of the fare is a white program. Yep. At least it's no more black than Vanilla fee is a fair rendition of classic urban rap.

The numbers go like this 61% of the population receiving wolfare, listed as "means-tested cash assistance" by the Census Burcau, is identified as white, while only 35% is identified as black. These numbers notwithstanding, the Republican version of "political correctness" has given us "welfare cheal" as a new term for African American since the early days of Ronald Reagan. Yet if the Lakers were 61% white and on a winning streak, would we be calling them a "black team".

Wait a minute, I can hear my neighbors say, we're not as slow at math as the Asian Americans like to think. There's still a glaring disproportion there. African Americans are only 12% of the population as a whole, at least according to the census count, yet they're 33% of the welfare population—surely evidence of a shocking addiction to the dole.

But we're forgetting something. Welfare is a program for poor people, very poor people. African Americans are three times as likely as whites to fall below the poverty level and hence to have a chance of qualifying for welfare benefits. If we look at the kind of persons most likely to be eligible—single mothers fiving in poverty with children under a be support of African Americans in such dire straits are on welfare, compared with 64.5% of the poor white single moms.

That's still a difference, but not enough to imply some congenital appetite for a free lunch on the part of the Africanderived. In fact, two explanations readily suggest themselves: First, just as blacks are disproportionately likely to be poor, they are disproportionately likely to find themselves among the poorest of the poor, where welfare eligibility arises. Second, the black poor are more likely than their white counterparts to live in cities, and hence to have a chance of making their way to the welfare office. Correct for those two differences, and you won't find an excess of African Americans fitting the process for profile of the shutsh welfare quene who breads for profile.

So why are they so poor? I can see my neighbor asking as visions of feekless idlers dance before his narrowed eyes. Ah, that is a question white folks would do well to ponder. Consider, for a start, that African Americans are more likely to be disabled dilleness being a famous consequence of poverty) or unemployed (in the sense of actively seeking work) and far less likely to earn wages that would lift them out of the welfarse-eligibility range.

As for the high proportion of black families headed by single women (44%, compared with 13% for whites); many deep sociohistoric reasons could be ad-

duced, but none of them is welfare. A number of respected studies refute the Reagan-era myth that a few hundred a month in welfare payments is a sufficient incentive to chuck one's hundred or get pregnant while in high school. If it were, states with relatively high welfare payments—say, about \$500, a month per family—would have higher rates of out-of-welexpect a welfare family to get by on \$200 a month or less. But this is not the cases.

So our confession stands: white folks have been gobbling up the welfare budget while blaming someone else. But it's worse than that. If we look at Social Security, which is another form of welfare, although it is often mistaken for an individual insurance program, then whites are the ones who are crowding the trough. We receive almost twice as much per capita, for an aggregate advantage to our race of \$10 billion a year-much more than the \$3.9 billion advantage African Americans gain from their disproportionate share of welfare. One sad reason: whites live an average of six years longer than African Americans, meaning that young black workers help subsidize a huge and growing "overclass" of white retirees. I do not see our confession bringing much relief. There's a reason for resentment, though it has more to do with class than with race. White people are poor too, and in numbers far exceeding any of our more generously pigmented social groups. And poverty as defined by the government is a vast underestimation of the economic terror that persists at incomes—such as \$20,000 or even \$40,000 and above-that we like to think of as

The problem is not that welfare is too generous to blacks but that social welfare in general is too sting to all concerned. Naturally, whites in the swelling 'near poor' category resent the notion of whole races supposedly frolicking at their expense. Whites, near poor and middle class, need help too—as do the many African Americans, Hispanics and "others" who do not qualify for all but need it nonetheless.

So we white folks have a choice. We can keep pretending that welfare is a black program and a scheme for transferring our earnings to the pockets of shiftless, dark-skinned people. Or we can clear our throats, blush prettily and admit that we are hurting too—for eash assistance when we're down and out, for health insurance, for college aid and all the rest.

Racial scapegoating has its charms, I will admit: the surge of righteous anger, even the fun—for those inclined—of wearing sheets and burning crosses. But there are better, nobler sources of white pride, it seems to me. Remember, whatever they say about our music or our taste in clothes, only we can truly, deeply blush. The transfer of accurate, organized information. In every venue, it is the power to motivate essential action.

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